Director, FBI

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HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT

The March 27, 1966, issue of "The Worker" contains an advertisement on page 11 regarding a book written by Aptheker entitled "Mission to Hanoi." The article further indicates that prefaces by Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden are included and that the book is "a report on the historic fact-finding mission" recently undertaken by Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden to North Vietnam.

You should obtain and transmit to the Bureau two copies of the paperback edition of this book which will sell for \$1.25 and is available through the International Publishers, 381 Park Avenue South, New York City.

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## SPERCH OF HERRERT APTHEKER AT ANN ARBOR MICHIGAN

HERBERT APTHEKER was introduced by a Moderator. This introduction was indistinct due to background noises.

HERBERT APTHEKER - Thank you very much. I appreciate the courtesy of this invitation. The Secretary of State, Mr. RUSK, in speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, on the sixth of January of this year, said, quote, nearly one third of the world are asleep at any given moment. The other two thirds are awake and are probably stirring up mischief somewhere. Sort of an unusual way of putting the world's problems (laughter). LYND, Mr FAYDEN and myself have just returned from that part of the world where concerns (?) are stirring up mischief, day and night. I've noticed, since my return particularly, although this is not too new, in Asia, that ... Some gentlemen (?) editoria were quite upsetting, as to whether or not I am a patriot ..... Some gentlemen (?) editorials they said so several times in print inquiring as to whether a Communist has any liber rights left in this country, and attorneys will let me know tomorrow. But, in terms of pointed opposition with war, this government conducts, to the expression of such pointed opposition, why war is going on, presumably is the essence of my If this is treasonous it has been indulged in by some strange traitors. ABE LINCOLN, for example. He permitted himself to say to the President of the United States, during a war, that I with my obviously lesser courage, have not yet permitted myself to Thus, Mr. Lincoln's speech of January, 1848, while this country was engaging in a war, of course, it was an old fashioned war, it was declared, a declared war, Mr. Lincoln characterized President POLK's message as, quote, the sheerest deception. Lincoln said that he was certain, that President Polk, I am quoting, is deeply conscious of being involved, that the President feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to heaven against him. The President, said Mr. Lincoln, trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze on the exceeding brightness of military glory, that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood, that serpant's eye that charms to destroy. denounced the President. Polk is urging the national honor, the security of the future, the prevention of foreign interference and even the good of, not Vietnam, the good of Mexico as a moment of so called ... and war. As to the more terminating ... of securing peace, the President is equally blundering, untruthful and indefinite. First, he says, it is to be brought (?) by the more vigorous prosecution of the war on the vital parts of the enemies country. That, apparently talking himself tired of that point, the President drops down to a half despairing tone and tells us that the ... people distract, distracted and divided by contending factions and the government is subject to constant changes by successive revolutions and coups, continued success of our arms may fail to sequire a satisfactory peace. The President is a bewildered, confounded and miserably perplexed man, God grant he may be able to Show there is not something about his conscience more painful than all his mental perplexity, said Mr. Lincoln, one of the well known

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traitors of the 19th century. Another clearly un-American poet, WALT WHITMAN, the same period, damned, quote, the old political parties are defunct. There remains of them nothing but empty flesh, putrid mouths, lovely speaking politicians stand back in the shadows. They tell lies trying to delude and frighten people, said Walt Whitman. I do not know how many people know our whole national anthem, including the third stanza, in which, singing the whole thing through, is almost impossible. One sings our country, triumph it must, if it's cause be just. So much for the proprieties. will now proceed in an attempt .... of what I saw and felt and then on the basis of this, and what study I have been able to put into the subject, some opinions on the war in Vietnam. Everywhere are air raid shelters. On top of them the children play. Watching the children are grandmothers. They are the target. Hanoi and it's one million people is calm, determined, but calm. Lights shops and stores, the opera, the cinema, 10,000 bicyclists. Here is the target. A large and lovely lake is in the city's center. Fronting it, I am told, were flowers. Now, these have given way to air raid shelters. Still, there are stalls where flowers are sold and as I stoll by late in the evening many women are preparing displays, binding bouquets in ... leaves. Again, the target. This lady is on a peace committee, she is pleased to meet three Americans who are friends. She has met others at international gatherings, some American women among them. They are just likewe women here, she thinks, is it not so. I mean, be as sentimental as we are, loving their husbands and wanting be as sentimental as we are, loving their husbands and wanting be as sentimental as we are. Why can't this not be. There their children to grow up, so do we. Why can't this not be. is nothing like loving children, I think, except it is loving independence. Independence, freedom, loving children. Things women must have, is it not so? She is the target. These are village some twenty miles south of Hanoi, here live 850 families, about 4500 souls. Now, there are many less with the men in the army, allthe young men. An elderly peasant with a characteristic wisp of a beard, like uncle HO, sits in a cart and allows himself to be pulled by the faithful buffalo to his work. He is reading as the animal plows his familiar path. I say, good morning. He is happy to welcome me to his village, he says, an American. have come a long way. Others have come from my country, too, but you have come with open hands and are a friend, therefore, good morning. May I know, please, what are you reading? This? Well this is SHALLIKOFF (phn). Of course, you know SHALLIKOFF? Yes. What do you think of SHALLIKOFF? There's no doubt that he writes well, he is an interesting writer and he knows people. But, do you know something? I must say that his stories are a little pat sometimes, do you know what I mean? I mean things come out too well, too soon. It does not happen that way all the time. a fine writer. He goes off, and next to him is his rifle for while the young men are away everyone else, the aged, the women, they are all armed. Indeed the village people tell me they have a special name for the old man's brigade. It is the gray haired force. I watched him go off into the Asian landscape engrossed

in SHALLIKOFF, his gun by his side. He most certainly is the target. What labor is here. With pride I am told of what they have built in the village that now they think is theirs. drainage ditches, the brick homes, the bicycles, the newly planted trees, cabbage, rice, grapefruit, tangerines, the pigs they have bred, the ducks they have raised, the harvest that was good this year. What labor is here. What sweetness that now the village is theirs. The young woman in charge of the local guerilla forces says if President JOHNSON comes to take this village we will fight for it. Nobody will take it. At last this is ours, everything now we share and now that we share we no longer quarrel so much. Everything is a target. The harvest, the brick house, the pigs and ducks, this young woman with a rifle, targets of the Pentagon. Nam Ding (phn) a city of 90,000, this is the battle zone. times in the past American planes have roared across the city dropping bombs and strafing with rockets and machine guns. The province in which Nam Ding is the capitol lives Many Catholics. 250,000 I am told. This evening when we come, one travels only at night, I asked if I might see the oldest Priest and I was introduced to a man about 75 years of age. Sixty years I have been in the Church, he says. In the old days of the French the Church was not free and not it is. What do you mean, Father? The old days early Mass was for the French and not for us. We had to go to late Mass. In the morning soldiers guarded the Church doors with guns and would not let us enter, only the French could enter. Why was that? Why? To keep us apart, to make us feel like intruders In those days they had two Christs, one for the in our own home. Vietnamese and one for the French. It is like in my country, Father, I say. At home we have a black Christ and a white Christ. Really, he says, I see. Then, abruptly, why is it the Americans are bombing my city? What have we done to the Americans, would you explain it to me? I do not understand. Why do they come here time after time and bomb this city? It is cruel, it is inhuman. Can you tell me why it is? My host comes and tells me we must leave. There is an alert, the U.S. planes are 40 miles away and we are not sure that it is safe for you. I begged to be allowed to remain but they will have none of it and I must leave. I asked the Father's pardon for leaving so quickly, of course, to myself I asked the Father's pardon for a million other things too. The police directing traffic are women. Everywhere they are women, they carry no guns and no clubs, nothing but their hands. In this terrible land of tyranny and Communist slavery everyone is armed except the police. Why do your police carry nothing at all I asked. Because, I am told, under the French and under the Japanese we had enough of the armed police and their clubs. They shot us and they clubbed usand now that the police are ours they carry nothing at all. fact is that we cannot stand to look upon the police with a club. It strikes me, then, that in Hanoi, unlike the pictures I have seen of Saigon, there are no barricades before the hotels or cafes, there is no danger from within, the danger is only from without, from the heavens. On the way home I get the free world press again, and the insanity. In the HERALD TRIBUNE of December

29 TED SALES (phn) writes from Washington that the bombing to the North Vietnam have not succeeded in dislocating it s society. He reports that in the Pentagon many are saying that, quote, now, only massive attacks, perhaps even with nuclear weapons, could cause such immediate dislocation, end of quotation. Before I came to the target area I read these things, shuddered, but now that I have been in the target area, with the children on the air raid shelters, with a 75 year old priest, with the SHALLIKOFF (phn) reading peasant of the gray haired force, now it is I do not know how to say it. It is like a nightmare. I looked upon the concentration camps 21 years ago. I saw the ovens and when my outfit arrived the places still stank. I saw it but I could not believe it. It was like a nightmare. But, then we had fought against this, we had been on the side of the inmates. If that was a nightmare, what was this? Now, the crematory were made in the United States and were portable and were called napalm and phosphorous. and journalists were coolly writing of dislocation with massive attacks and nuclear weapons. On the way home I read NEWSWEEK of January 10, 1966, and it tells me that BOB HOPE is in Saigon entertaining 10,000 troops with his inimical wit. The magazine says, quote, the soldiers roared and laughed when HOPE called the U.S. bombing raids on North Vietnam the best slum clearance project they ever had, end of quote. I remember that we forced some of the German officers to go through the concentration camp and we all filed through with handkerchiefs at our noses, and I remember that when we emerged into the air the Nazis dropped their handkerchiefs, I remember that some were laughing. The crematory constituted one huge sewage project to them, in which vermin, Jews, Communists, Poles, Russians, were wiped out. Professor Morganthal writes truly when he indicts this, quote, senseless, hopeless and brutalizing war. Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK writes truly when he declares of what U.S. armed might is doing in Vietnam, quoting Dr. SPOCK, when Hitler's armies used such tactics we called them atrocities, end of quote. And, when Hitler's armies marched he did not say what the world knew, that he wanted the oil and coal, the wheat and iron of the Ukraine, that he wanted to annihilate the idea of popular sovereignty, that he sought to extirpate Socialism. Such realistic considerations are scarce today in the noble rhetoric with which U.S. made atrocities are bedecked, but it was not always so. Thus, when the French were doing most of the fighting against the Vietnamese the NEW YORK TIMES editorialized February 12, 1950, quote, Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the north are exportable tins, tungsten, zinc, manganese, coal, lumber and rice and in the south are rice, rubber, tea and pepper, end of quotation. And, a little later, while the French still held the line, President Eisenhower permitted himself to express these thoughts in his characteristic syntac, " at the United States Governors Conference August 4, 1953 and I quote President Eisenhower. Now, let us assume that we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, several things happen right away. peninsula, the last spit of land hanging on down there would be

scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming. So, when the United States votes \$400 million to help the French in that war we are not voting a giveaway program, we are voting for the cheapest way we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States, our security, our power, our ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from southeast Asia, end of quotation. LYNDON B. JOHNSON, as President of the United States. tends to deliver himself when speaking formally of elevated prose. Still, one wonders whether the truer LYNDON B. JOHNSON was speaking, when as a Congressman he said on the floor of the House of the Representatives, March 15, 1948, quote, no matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant. NEW YORK TIMES of January 29th, 1966, has what I take to be a society note. It tells us that one of the two dogs the President has, the one that is male, he has recently rechristened the male dog of the President of the United States, Mr. JOHNSON, calls HO CHI HIM. Now, HO, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, from time to time rides a donkey. It is this chauvinism, this racism, this colonialism and that parasitic appetite as well as considerations of strategic position and future activities against other Socialist lands that, in my opinion, lie at the base of the aggressive foreign policy now dominating Washington. Whatever demagogic purposes may have prompted the issuance of President JOHNSON's 14 points, and whatever devious intentions may lie behind the much trumpeted peace offensive, and Mr. HARPIMAN's recent remark concerning the National Liberation Front, and the possibility of it's recognition, that the language is closer to the necessities of peace is to be welcomed, that world public opinion of the Vietnamese resistance and growing American public opinion play a part in inducing the peace offensive and extracting this off hand remark from the distinguished Ambassador is all to the good. The first point of the 14 point statement, issued by President JOHNSON on December 27, namely the acceptance of the Geneva agreement, represents the essential point of both the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. If adhered to and implemented it means an end to the war in Vietnam and the basis for a lasting peace in Southeast Asia. The Geneva agreement of 1954 was for the people of Vietnam what the treaty of Paris of 1783 was for the people of the United States. Both represented treaties entered into after prolonged negotiation, by defeated colonial powers, in the earlier case Great Britain and the latter case France, with a formerly colonial people, American and Vietnamese respectively, who had won their independence through struggle. The Geneva agreement was a generous one, offered by the victorious Vietnamese to the defeated Thus, though the Vietnamese had proposed that the temporary military line of demarcation be at the 15th parallel, and the French the 18th, the final Geneva agreement set that at the 17th, representing a concession to the French, not only of considerable

territory, but also of some two million people. But this was agreed to in Geneva as a whole and was signed by the Vietnamese because it contains the main things, to wit, the acceptance of the independence and integrity of the Vietnam nation, affirmed the temporary non-political character of the split in the 17th parallel, required the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam, prohibiting the future introduction of such troops and set down procedures for the re-unification of Vietnam by 1956. For these reasons it was signed by the Vietnamese and because they sat by as the terms were carried out by the Vietnamese people because Uncle HO asked them to do so, and HO CHI MINH is to the Vietnamese what WASHINGTON, LINCOLN and LENIN taken together represented. The Geneva agreement terminated a dirty war waged for over eight years, 1946 through '54, by the French with the massive assistance of the United States. It is universally acknowledged, as by former President Eisenhower for example, that the 1956 elections were not held vecause at the insistance of Saigon and Washington authorities, it was stated at that time in 1956, as affirmed by President Eisenhower, that Saigon and Washington refused to permit the election because it was certain that HO CHI MINH would have emerged in such election as the choice of the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people, in both the north and the south. Nevertheless, since Geneva and since 1956 the DRV has tried repeatedly, though without success, to normalize relations between South and North Vietnam. Furthermore, in three important respects as was emphasized during our journies, agreements already have been offered going further than the Geneva These are viewed upon by the NLF and the DRV as very significant concessions though I think it is fair to say that not one of a thousand Americans knows of their existence. Thus, the DRV, and raince it's formation in 1960, the NLF, have agreed to, a, the neutrality and foreign policy of the South Vietnam interim The broad coalition character of such government. government. b. A prolonged process for the reunification of North and South Vietnam, determined without outside interference by the people involved and confirmed by a general free election, supervised by an international controlled commission established by Geneva. None of these three points is in the Geneva agreement. All, and I repeat this was emphasized to us during our journey, all illustrated moderations by the DRV approach. Certainly their existence, undoubtedly unknown to the vast majority of Americans, refutes the Washington stereotype of the DRV and the NLF as intransient and stubborn, not to say more seeking. The fact is that after 25 years of war no people on earth craves peace more than those in Viet-But those 25 years of war were inspired by the goal of the independence and integrity of the Vietnamese nation. This is an indispensable prerequisite which runs like a red thread through a thousand years of unbroken Vietnamese history. It is an indispensable prerequisite. Not only could no government of the DRV agree to anything less but if a government did agree to anything less, the Vietnamese people would not abide by such a government. Let it be added that the very long experience of the

Vietnamese people covering thousands of years have shown them that without independence, quite literally, existence becomes either impossible or intolerable. As a single example of what is meant, in the one year 1944-45, under the combined occupation of the Japanese and the French, two million Vietnamese starved to death. Hence, without independence, it is passionately felt in Vietnam, this my journey persuaded me beyond any doubt, that any peace can only represent surrender if peace is won without independence. Such a settlement should not be expected by anyone, least of all Americans who live in a country created in a war for independence. It was independence, unity and national integrity which were the heart of Geneva and many Vietnamese wonder if it is not because of this that the highest officials in the U.S. Government, such as Secretary of State DULLES and President EISENHOWER express so low an opinion of the Geneva agreement at the time of it's siming. If the first of the 14 points of December 27 is meant in full seriousness nothing else is necessary. That point means the recognition of Vietnamese independence, unity and national integrity, forbids the presence of foreign troops in Vietnam. Let the first be solemnly affirmed and let the second process be begun, and my journey absolutely convinces me peace is well on it's way in In this connection, however, it is necessary to observe that so universally respected a commentator as WALTER LIPMANN' in his column dated December 29, after the issuance of the 14 points, concludes, quote, I believe it a grave mistake to attempt to make permanent our military presence on the Asian mainland, making this artificial and ramshackled debris of old empires permanent and committing our lives and fortunes to it's maintenance means, I believe, unending war in Asia, end of quotation. It is necessary, also, to observe that Mr. TOM LAMBERT, writing from Washington in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of December 31, several days after the announcement of the 14 points, notes that while the United States will accept, quote, a non-aligned South Vietnam, nevertheless, the United States will not let South Vietnam go to the Communists and will remain there militarily if necessary to preclude any such Communist takeover, end of quote. This ruled out the unfettered choice by the people involved, furthermore, since it depends on what Washington considers Communist it may rule out anything to the left of the present, excuse the expression, Prime Minister of the Saigon regime, who has stated that his favorite hero is Adolph Hitler. And Mr. LAMBERT went on to say in the same dispatch to quote the President's assistant, Mr. MOYERS, as repeating that the basis, the President's words, that the basic aim of the United States in Vietnam, as stated by President JOHNSON in Baltimore, April, 1965, remains namely, quote, United States demands that an independent South Vietnam securely guarantees, but the whole point of Geneva was the temporary character of the two zone separation of Vietnam and the agreement as to the unity and sovereignty of Vietnam, not north and not south, but Vietnam. One cannot affirm adherence to Geneva and simultaneously with reason insist that a basic demand is for a separate and independent and non-Communist South Vietnam. Clearly, and correctly

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I believe, the Vietnamese feel that their strug (le is a just war for national independence. It is a continuation of an anticolonialist and anti-imperialist effort waged asgainst the Japanese, the French-American and now the American Government. think that it is indutible that the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT is a genuine broad national coalition representing the overwhelming percent of the people of South Vietnam. Further, the struggle seeks not only the cause of the triumph of the national liberation of the Vietnamese people, in addition such a victory would thwart the effort of the United States government to establish a military stronghold in Southeast Asia for purposes, I think, of exploitation and conquest of that area and as a base for further assault throughout Asia, thus clearly opening up the prospects of a general and, perhaps, even a third world war. The Vietnamese, I assure you, take very seriously the unanimous agreements reached in the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the workers and Communist Parties. There, it was agreed, that a prime task was to exert every effort to further the cause of national liberation and simultaneously to prevent world war. Both tasks were viewed as two sides of the same anti-imperialist effort. The present struggle against the United States Government policy of aggression in Vietnam is held to be exactly that kind of struggle. It is then a fundamental issue in the central task of our era. The achievement of national liberation and the prevention of world war by implementation of the policy of peaceful co-existence. Notice to be taken that the Vietnamese emphasize the distinction between the people of the United States and the U. S. Government. They value most highly the impressive efforts for peace being waged by large, increasing segments of the American people. a historical fact, in my professional opinion, it is a historical fact that the present degree of opposition to an actual war being conducted is without precedent and the relative absence of any passionate support for such an actual war also is without precedent in the history of the United States. Let it also be observed that the Vietnamese do not seek the defeat of the United States and do not conceive of themselves as capable of defeating the United States. That is, they are not waging war upon the United States and do not seek the destruction of our cities, let alone the capture of Washin ton. They do not seek, like Admiral Tojo, to sign a peace treaty in Washington. They are seeking to defeat the American aggression upon their soil. They seek to defeat the American Government's aggressive foreign policy. They want American troops not to be in their country. This is what they mean by winning, nothing else. The aggressive war policy of the JOHNSON administration brings death and maiming to thousands of Americans and ruin and devastation to Vietnam. The aggressive policy of the JOHNSON administration threatens all social progress and democratic achievements in our country. There is a 3.2 percent ceiling for wage increases but there is no ceiling at all for rates of profit by corporations. There is impotence in the face of murder of civil rights workers in the United States and at the same time the capacity to send 200,000 American soldiers 10,000 miles

from home to kill peasants and burn villages. The JOHNSON policy of aggression threatens the American people with the kind of catastrophe that Hitler's policy of aggression did bring the Ger-The President of the United States speaks of our honor as a nation. Does it honor our nation to ravage a people who have done us no harm? Does it honor our nation to spread chemical poisons upon the labor of farmers in Asia? Does it honor our nation to turn children into beggers and women into prostitutes? Does it honor our nation to hurl phosphorous shells and napalm bombs and beneficient gasses upon the homes and bodies of millions of men, women and children? If to shout to the heavens in denunciation of such honor be treason, please then let my name forever be enrolled among the traitors. The truth is that a reversal of the present aggressive foreign policy in the United States is in the best interests of the poeple of Vietnam and of the United States and the entire world. Pressures for such a reversal are mounting throughout the world and they are mounting here. And, of course, here is the main responsibility. me very briefly to simply allude to three particular arguments. One is the so-called domino theory. As to this I would simply assert that, particularly since February, '65, last year, when we commenced bombing of the DPV, the domino theory has been, in effect, in reverse. Every bomb thrown has reduced the influence and prestige of the United States nation. Until now, in Cambodia, in India, in the Phillipines and in Japan, the influence tolerant (phn) of the United States are at an all time low. And, while this is especially true of Asia, here is the report from Paris of Mr. JOSEPH BARRY in the current issue of the PROPESSIVE MAGAZINE as to Europe, quote, everywhere in Europe the Vietnam war has poisoned whatever else has been positive in American policy. has reduced to nil everything but our military leadership and made nonsense in all Europe of our claims to moral law and international order, end of quote. So much for the domino theory. Two. The affirmation that it is Chinese aggression that is the secret source of our generosity in Vietnam. Of this, there are no Chinese soldiers in Vietnam, no Chinese borders (phn) in the Chinese People's Republic. There are 200,000 American troops. Chinese do not blockade our coasts, our navy blockades their coast. and two of their ports are not usable, Hanoi (phn) and Phu Chow (phn), are stopped to all traffic by our navy. It is as though Norfolk and philadelphia were stopped by some foreign navy. and Matsu is held by us and our creature. Quemoy and Matsu are to China what Naragansut (phn) and Staten Island are to the United It is our government which, for the first time in history, has affirmed, not only that it will not recognize another government, the Chinese People's Republic, but it has explicitly affirmed. diplomatically, openly, several times, that it seeks, as official policy, the overthrow, the destruction of the government of the Chinese People's Republic. It never did that even with the Soviet Union. Furthermore, we have now over 200,000 troops in Vietnam and approximately 65,000 in Korea. That many troops together

amounts to almost 300,000 combat troops in areas, both of which border China. If I ask just a moments consideration of what it would mean if Crinese had a quarter of a million troops, one fourth in Canada and three fourths in Mexico. I therefore affirm that, really, what ever one may say about Chinese policy, and particularly, language, the fact is that, in acts, ..... China and the United States, the United States to speak of Chinese aggression is a classical example of thief crying thief. third point, also for a minute, the charge of appeasement, of Munich, of allegedly learning the lesson of Munich, the President of the United States reiterates a thousand times, just recently again. I think here, of course, the basic approach is to the whole history of aggression, etcetera, which I do not wish to enter into. But, I do want to say this. Hitler was not appeased. Hitler was created, first by German financed capital and then by Western, including U.S. financed capital. Appeasement means grudgingly giving up. This was not done with Kitler. He was made, created, financed, urged, blown up, encouraged, he was not appeased. He was, in fact, given so much that we now know from his private conversations since published, that he was surprised at how much was given him and how quickly. He was given parity in naval strength with England. He was given the Saar, he was given Mimmel (phn), he was given Danzig. We now know that the British were planning on giving him half of Africa, he was given Austria, he was given Czechoslovakia, an enormous technical capacity of the great Skota munitions works and it's border touching the Soviet Union. Hitler was not appeased, the whole concept of appeasement is faulty. Hitler was built up as the advance guard against Socialism in Europe and for the destruction of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, who supported this policy? The support of ... came from the Right, the denunciation of it came from the Left. Was anyone more pro Munich, for instance, than the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS? No. That's why President Roosevelt bestowed Hitler's Iron Cross upon the owner of the NEW YOPK DATLY NEWS. Is there anyone more avid on the bombin; of Hanoi, Hai Phong and China than the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS and it's ilk? No. Why? Because the DAILY NEWS was the organ of pro-Fascism in the thirties and it is the organ of pro-Fascism in the sixties. Never, since the days of chattel slavery has a question of right or wrong been clearer in our country than it is today with the war in Vietnam. who opposed slavery there were many differences but finally one thing united them all, a sense of humanity and out of the sense of decency and a concern for fundamental humanity. The differences that seemed so important to the various camps in the anti-slavery effort now have interest only to historians. And, the greatest lesson they teach all of us now is this, whatever prevented unity in the struggle against slavery was helpful to the slave owners. Whatever prevents unity now in the struggle to stop the killing in Vietnam is helpful to the crackpot realists and the stone age generals. We must go to the American people in their multimillions and say to them plainly and convincingly in terms that they will understand and act upon that this war is atrocious, immoral and intensely harmful to our country and to our own

every day interest. The President of the United States has recently said that those who opposed the war were simply worriers, they present no alternative. The Geneva agreement is the alternative to aggressive war in Southeast Asia. We must do what Britain did in Ghana. We must do what France did in Algeria and in Vietnam. We must, in the first place, stop the killing, we must, in the second place, get out. (Applause) This is what Geneva says. cessation of the bombing, agree to the re-convening of Geneva under the auspices of, not of the UN, in which neither Hanoi, nor Saigon nor the NLF, nor China is represented. Implement Geneva with a broad coalition, neutral South Vietnam, neutral government, a prolonged process of re-unification, confirmed in a general election supervised by the Geneva International Commission. is the alternative, Mr. President. I refuse to admit even the possibility of failure in this great crusade. We will not fail. We will succeed, and in succeeding we will make America a beacon of decency, justice, equality and peace. Thank you. (Applause)

(As reel #2 begins HERB APTHEKER is apparently conducting a question and answer period as reel is started with APTHEKER in the process of answering a question?)

We asked the Prime Minister. He said to himithatlit is frequently uncertain in the United States Press, and by the military, that there are regular units of the DRV in South Vietnam. Is that true. Mr. Minister. He said, no, it is not true. He said Mr. Prime Minister this is , to us, a very important question because it is repeatedly asserted and we want to be sure that you understood our question, of course it was being translated. And, we want to be sure that we have understood your answer. Do you say to us that there are no DRV troops in South Vietnam. He said I do. " said can we put that in the form of a written question and would you answer it for us in any way that you wish, in writing, so that we may publish that as well as other questions. Yes, you may and we did, and he answered that question in writing and we have since published it, we published it on the 16th of January. We came home and published it immediately. And, in the answer he was stronger (?) than verbally, he said that the assertion of the presence of the DRV troops in South Vietnam is the sheerest fabrication. Those were his words, the sheerest fabrication, affirmed in order to give s me pretense for the American aggression and affirmed, also, as a moral sop (?) since the United States troops and their puppet prefer to be losing against the veterans of Dien Bien (phn) troops instead of simply against the MLF. But, they are simply being defeated, not by the veterans of Dien Bien Phu. Now, this was his statement and that's the first part of the answer to your question. The second is, you asked me my opinion of the veracity of this statement. My own opinion is that their answer to me is highly probable. I say this for the following reasons: One, as we said to the Prime Minister, this is a telling (phn) matter and, if what you are saying is not true, presumably it can be effectively refuted by the United States and, if

so, it would be quite damaging. He said I know that but it can not be refuted because it is true. Secondly, even the charges that come from the United States have both a limited and a highly nebulous, when carefully examined, character. Limited in that the greatest claim by the United States is seven regiments of DRV troops, this is about 8500 men altogether, 8500 as compared to 200,000 is, of course, a drop in the bucket. That's one thing. The second is that the demonstration of the actual existence of such troops, and this is a central point, dramatically has been notably weak. It has been, generally speaking, in journalistic reports, or it is reported that, or in this valley it is thought that, but they have not been made contact with, or we can not find them, so on. I would say that from the viewpoint of the craft of the historian, in terms of evidential phrases, the case made so far by the United States in this crucial point is slippery, unlike the affirmation of the Prime Minister of the DRV. It is unequivocably explicit to me. I have then answered both points. I've given you my opinion and I've given you precise (phn) in what the Prime Minister did say.

Moderator - Are there any other questions? (A question is asked in the background but can not be heard.)

APTHEKER - Did everyone hear the question? I can summarize it and see if I did allright. If not you hold your hand up. Young man said what about the facts concerning economic, material assistance by the DRV to the NFL. What about the so-called HO CHI MINH trail: " and does that, did you say something else? Is that It? That's the question. I am certain about the material and economic assistance to the DRV in North Vietnam. This is already massive and is increasing from China and from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, and non-Socialist countries. I am not certain in my own mind about the material and economic assistance from the DRV to the NFL. I would offer, in my opinion, that I think it is highly probable that there is such assistance and, probable, in my opinion, that is considerable. I think that it is relatively new, it probably did notsignificantly begin until maybe 1965. That's the best that I can do. I can call your attention to the fact tha t our commanding officer in South Vietnam in 1943, General PAUL D. HARKINS, said that the weapons and materiel of the NLF was not Chinese, not the northern import (?) but came from Dien, when it was in charge, from the United States, and it was homemade. That's what the American commanding general said as late as the Spring of 1963. That's the best that I can do. Now, the existence of the so-called HO CHI MINH trail, which is supposed to go into Laos and Cambodia, has been denied both by the DRV and by Cambodia, although the United States has authorized now explicitly what it calls hot pursuit in Cambodia and hasanow admitted that aircraft from the Royal Laoation Airforce, which you gentlemen know is a tremendous air force, that aircraft from that air force is regularly bombing the Cambodia border area but the Chief of State of Cambodia says there is no HO CHI MINH trail, that there is no supply going via

Cambodia into Vietnam, but he explained this bombardment by the Royal Lacation Air Force, and they had come to our assistance in that, the border area (phn). That's the best I can do on that question. I see a hand there ...... (laughter).

A question is asked in the background but it can not be heard.

ATHEKER - Well, it is a fact that the European press has reported for several months the bombardment of Laos by United States forces. About six weeks ago, or eight weeks ago, the United States confirmed the bombardment of Laos by the United States Air Force and said that it would bombard areas in Laos that were menacing to the defense efforts of the United States in Vietnam. So, we have ... admitted that this is being done. is also a fact that this seems to have been adopted (phn) a long time ago and, apparently, special troops of the United States also participated in ground warfare there a long time ago. This is in SCHLESINGER's recent book on KENNEDY, and there have been other expose' because some of this seems to have been done independently by the CIA which now not only has an independent treasury but appears to have an independent military arm, I mean independent of the President. And, this now seems to include Air Force. This certainly is what SCHLESINGER says in his book. And, recently HENRY ... COMMIGER (Phn) has been repeating this. He did it very recently in the SATURDAY REVIEW. So, the bombardment of Laos by the United States, U.S.A. or U.S.C.I.A. has been common, repeated, for perhaps a year. It is now officially admitted, or if admitted is a charged word, it is now officially confirmed.

Unknown male in background - I would like to know whether or not these P.T. boats that attacked the American ships were driven by North Vietnamese, or do they exist at all, or was there an attack, or is the whole war (phn) a sham? (Laughter)

APTHEKER - You can be sure that the war (laughter makes rest of question and comment indistinct.) I was just going to say that you can be sure that the war is not a sham and you can be sure that the bombing in North Vietnam is not a sham because I looked at it.

Questioner - In Detroit and Michigan (?) that everything that we've read in our papers is probably the widest ... of anywhere in the world, is apparently untrue and trash. I was wondering now whether the attacks occurred or not. Was the bombing of the hotel in Saigon a true bombing or were the Americans dressed as Vietnamese Indians when engased (?).

APTHEKER - Well, I'm glad that you had the chance of asking further questions so that we clarify what you actually had in mind (laughter). That is to say that you were right in ... about the P.T. boats, although I'll begin with them. Very obviously I do not know, neither do you, what happened in the Gulf of Tonkin. We know that one government, the United States Government, affirms that it's warships were attacked by P.T. boats from the DRV Navy

and our government says that, in response to this awful and aggressive assault, we would naturally reply and that, thereafter, we have naturally replied by continuing to bomb the DRV. Not only P.T. boats. The guard (phn) with the DRV, on the other hand, says that our Navy did (didn't?) attack the United States Navy. is not true and that this particular charge is a sham to justify, or rationalize, the bombardment of our country. So, what we know is that one government says there was a P.T. attack and the other government says that there wasn't. You will weigh the likelihood of a naval attack by the DRV upon the United States and I will weigh the likelihood that this may not have occurred and is used as an excuse, which has not been (proven wrong ?). For instance, American planes bombed Havana, U.S. Air Force planes bombed Havana and then when they came back thirty caliber rifle bullets were put through the fuselage in the appearance that they had been hit in Havana and that they were rebel planes from the Cuban Air Force, where that we now know they were United States planes in the first place and the bullets were put in the fuselage in Miami. This we now know. Now, you asked something else, or you said something else. You said that I had made the point here that everything in our ... a sham. I did not make that point at all and. to the contrary, I quoted several times in terms of controvertory (phn) evidence ... press of the United States which has a high degree of falsification and propaganda and a considerable degree, I think, of veracity with very hard working journalists, many of whom, like Mr. RESTON and so on, are excellent and manage to get across a great deal. So, I would in no way downgrade, and did not mean to downgrade, and did not downgrade, in fact, in my presentation. You thought that this is what I think so you thought that that is what you heard, but you did not in any (laughter).

Unknown male asks indistinct question in background.

APTIEKER - Yes, I view the Senate Foreign Relations development very positively. Not very long ago there was only one, possibly two Senators speaking out, GRUENING and MORSE, a couple of Senators raising questions, such as Mr. O'BRIEN. Today, thirty Senators have signed a, denunciation is too strong a word, opposition to the President's policy and about 70 (17?) Kepresentatives and we are told, by our splendid press such as the NEW YORK TIMES ... that, actually, about twenty more Senators would have signed but for one reason or other they didn't. So, half the Senators are, opposes the President's policy. I view that as very promising indeed, a tremendous developement, and a reflection of growing popular opposition and questions here and in the world. I may say this to you also. At my suggestion the three of us wired Senator FULBRICHT from Hanoi. This may surprise you that it was my sugrestion, but it was, that the three of us asked to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Now, we had sense enough to suggest that the Senator reply to STAUGHTON LYND and. I can not speak (?), and he did. He replied to him, Professor LYND, and very courteously and said that the Foreign Relations Committee

was not then in session and, in fact, didn't plan to have such hearings. However, a secretary of Senator FULBRIGHT discussed with great length with Mr. LYND the trip, a specialist on Far Eastern Affairs came up from Washington to New Haven and interviewed Mr. LYND for about two and a half hours as to what might be done as to terminate the war and then Mr. LYND was invited by eight different Senators to come to their offices in Washington and he told me that he went with great fear and trembling but that they treated him like a hero. I said did they comment on your fellow traveler, he (laughter) said no, they didn't raise it at all and they were very meniable and agreeable and listened and urged that he continue his efforts. Now, that was about ten days before this developement so I, your question was how do I view it. I view it very positively and, in addition to former Ambassador KENNON, I call your attention to the remark of Ambassador HARRIMAN, Í don't know if you noticed that, Ambassador HARRIMAN said that he thought it right that the NLF be present in negotiations so the United States can negotiate with the NLF. Now, this certainly is not in the Honolulu declaration. On the other hand, Ambassador HARRIMAN has never said that before. And, this is, of course, a prerequisite to any serious negotiations. So, there has been certain advances, there are certain signs of real encouragement, to answer you in a nutshell.

Unknown male - Doctor, three years ago in ... the leftists and the neutralists organized a coalition to fight the ... Would you care to comment on how this coalition has worked out?

APTHEKER - Do you mean in Laos? Comment within the severe limits of my knowledge in terms ...

Unknown male - In terms of your limits (laughter), (then makes indistinct comment).

A THEKEP - Marvelous wit here (laughter). I said this because, I said this because the whole question of Laos seems, to me, to be awful scarce (?). There is, uh, long periods when I read no reports at all. Now, if people here have some principal source that they see I would be very obliged if you would tell me, but the press, generally, has been sparse, as far as I know, and that's true also in the French press which I ve tried to keen up with. Now, apparently the coalition which came into being with the 1962 agreement has largely disintegrated and, also, apparently seems to be renewed fighting, at least in part of Laos, particularly in the northern part. And, myself am dubious as to how serious that fighting is because of the sparse reports, but I think it is true that the 1962 arrangement of a broad coalition government has broken down, or has practically broken down. That is my answer, as far as I know, of this fact.

Unknown male asks indistinct question.

APTHEKER - I agree with you that this is central, or at least very important, the whole problem of developing a fully effective peace effort, because on the basis of consideration which you have very briefly summarized the anti-Communist rationale behind the policy of the government has a high degree of persuasivness, because of this. So, it is a central question (?). I must, however, labor under the difficulty of any question period in which what you raised is the central matter, in my own thinking, and try to extract from that, briefly, within the limit of the questi n period something which will reflect to you what is persuasive to me. And, that's a very difficult thing, especially in a country which has been so inundated with anti-Communism as this country. Now, just briefly, I think, and I can always be asserted (?) now. I think that the record of the history of diplomacy in international relations, certainly since 1946, demonstrates that the source of the cold war, the source of the arms race, the source of resistance to colonial liberation and the source of the war danger has been overwhelmingly the classical imperalist countries. I think that data in the past twenty years of international history would confirm this and I tried to do it in a book of mine called the AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE COLD WAP. I think that D. F. FLEMING does substantially that, no doubt much better in two volumes, HOROWITZ does in his recent book, J. P. MORAY (MURPAY?) did in his study of dis-armament. I find that few (?), often not Communists, persuasive, This does not mean that this is one hundred percent so. Nothing is, historically and in human events, but overwhelmingly, I think that the source of the war danger has lain with and lays with the classical capitalist, monopolist, imperialist powers. That's the first area. Secondly, I would say that I thought (phn) it persuasive the very profound desire for peace which exists pretty universally in the Socialist countries and I would say especially/in the Soviet Union. Again I can only be asserted (phn), but I think there are good evidences of that and very good reasons for it. Not least, 20 million dead in World War II, but I think it's true. I don't think that is true here, certainly not in the same degree, and certainly not in ruling circles. I think it is true, by and large, in the Socialist world and this helps persuade me of this feud (phn) in international affairs. I think that very recently the behavior, especially, of the Soviet Union international affairs has been notably moderated, has notably been in the direction of peace, and an extrordinary example of that is the amazing success in the Indian, Pakistan development. helps persuade me of this feud (phn). Specifically in the area of individual freedoms I would say by and large the development hereto (here too?) in the Socialist countries, and notably in the Soviet Union, has been in a relative sense positive. That is the Soviet Union, from the viewpoint of traditional freedoms to us, which of course is historically an anachronistic view for them, but taking that view for us, I would say that the past 20 years, and particularly the past 15, have shown very positive developments in the Soviet Union. This is not uniform but it is generally so. I may add as an interest to anybody that I have lectured (phn) often in

the Soviet Union, been there very often, and that my central point when I am there is criticism of the absence of this to the degree that it is absent and encouragement and an appeal that it be enhanced. I do not think that this is my central task in the United States as an American. I think that here my central task is what I have been trying to do and that is to radicalize this society, to overcome the concept of Marxism as a criminal conspiracy, to undo the Mc Carran Act and to stop the aggressive foreign policy and particularly the war in Vietnam. Finally, of the two officers, of course jailing of officer, as officers is, to me, abominable. I would add on this that, you compared the United States and the Soviet Union here, this area, that infinitely more worrisome to me is what was done to the two men released by the NLF, SMITH and CORTER (phn) I believe their names are, and their disappearance from the public view of these two men and the fact that they seem to be, if not incarcerated, incommunicado. This is an extraordinary development. And, I do not know, I'm not quite clear as to why there hasn't been an eruption in this country on the basis of this rather unusual course of behavior of the United States Government in terms of incommunicado. These are some of my thoughts. Now, there additional things and that is that overall, for example, I would say that these societies which are Socialist are today infinitely preferable to those societies before they were Socialist, and I think that this is the only way that you can compare. I think that what it means to live in the Soviet Union as compared to what it meant to live in Czarist Russia, what it means to live in Socialist Bulgaria compared to what it meantto live in Bulgaria when it was free under King BORIS (phn). What it means to live in Socialist Rumania as compared to what it was under King RACHEL (phn) which I repeat is the only comparison, of course. What Cuba is today compared to what it was under Batista, I think, the evidence leads me to the conclusion that Socialism is infinitely progressive, infinitely humanistic in terms of the condition of the vast majority. I say the same thing is true in terms of what I saw in the DRV as compared to what they were when they were a French colony, and I think that this is the way to tell the truth (phn). This is the best that I can do within the limits ... this type of a question period.

Unknown male asks indistinct question.

APTHEKER - No, and I'm not after that. Right here, what I've answered here is, as persuasively as possible, to argue that this war in which our government is engaged is awful and atrocious and anti-human and contrary to our national interests, really. That's the first thing. And, second, that, therefore, the American people should become sufficiently aroused to force the change in foreign policy and that this can be accomplished. That's what I want to do, and to the best of my ability here, I want also to say that the anti-Communist obsession is an obsession and that the definition of Communism in the Mc Carran Act, the definition of Communism in our State Department, the working definition which

defines the governments that we approve of and dis-approve of, in the Dominican Republic, in Viet Nam, that this whole Anti-Communism hysteria is false, is hysteric, is insane, is not different from that of Hitler and that this must be overcome also and that one must see Marxism and Communism, not as criminal conspiracies, but as ways of life ... which may be persuasive to infinitely moral, decent and even intelligent people, far and away as the present speaker, but DREISER, DU BOIS, or ARAGON(phn), or O'CASEY or SHAW, or BERNARD, or EATON, or CATUSO(phn) that, and that our country doesn't see that, doesn't operate on this, it operates on the old, hysterical, anti-Communist basis which destroyed, ruined Germany. It ruined Japan, ruined Italy and if persisted in will ruin this country. That's my main message. (Applause)

MODERATOR - I think that we ran a little bit over our time and we won't be able to take any more questions now. The next speaker happens to be -

APTHEKER (interrupts) May I just have the opnortunity of thanking you all very much. (Applause)

MODERATOR: Next there will be a discussion with DR APTHEKER, MR LEW JONES of the Young Socialist Alliance, and PROFESSOR RAPOPORT -

UNID FEMALE: .......... may be exactly whatI'll do. Join in a discussion with PROFESSOR RAPCPOPT and MR JONES with respect to the Anti-War Movement in the United States. Ah, ANATOLE RAPOPORT, I'm sure is known to you all. He is a research in Conflict(ph) revolution(ph), a Father of the original Teach-In Movement, and a leader in the Peace Movement. Ah, LEW JONES is a National Committeeman of the Young Socialist Alliance and is currently on tour of the Anti-War Committees across the country, speaking on the question, "Whether or not the Anti-War Movement should call for negotiations or withdrawal". And there will be approximately twenty minutes interpretations; first by LEW JONES and by PROFESSOR RAPOPOPT and then the floor will again be open to questions, also MR APTHEKER.

LEW JONES: Thank you LINDA. As you can see the tense and amiable ways that she is wise is against me but I don't think that will get in our way and I think that we can have a personal discussion and the generational barrier won't get in our way. I want to start out by saying I had him put on the record, I know that DR APTHEKER has spent a great deal of time in his speech talking about the charge of KING and DR WEBB, and ah some uncertain connotations(ph) from FBI? The charges that they are traitors. I think that we should all go on record tonight, against that, and reaffirm that we do not think that they are traitors in their ways on a basis of their democratic rights such as anybody else does. Andthey have every right to say what they think about the war irregardless of their political views, Okay, Now tonight, our discussion is around the debate the Anti-War Movement(ph), that has been going on; around the slogan. But, I enjoyed DR APTHEKER's remarks about the sonstant hypocrisy in his presentation of the aims of the war.

And just recently there has been a few more, in just seeing the peace offensive come to a grinding halt. To be followed now, by the Great Society in Viet Nam, that he(LBJ) tried to set up in Honolulu. And that is, MR JOHNSON is now going to rebuild hospitals, brebuild villages and have social reforms all overthe place in South Viet Nam. Now of course any will get the same highly paid bureaucracy in South Viet Nam that we have in the United States implementing the Great Society. The bureaucracy or a program that does very little to solve the problems that face people in the United States and in South Viet Nam; it more or less serves as a safety valve to stop the unrest. Will these people get the same thing in Viet Nam from the Great Society there? I think so. I think it is a nice bouquet that JOHNSON has made up, to cover up what he is doing in Viet Nam. And that of course is where the real contradiction comes in. Because how do you build and rebuild a country with the same target bombing and napalming it off the face of the globe? It is qute a contradiction and 1 don't think that JOHNSON is going to be able to get around it. The Great Society in Viet Nam is a gimmick and very little element(ph). The gimmick is to get support in this country, a gimmick to get support in Southeast Asia, and a gimmick to get support throughout the world. The real reality faces every youth in this country, in this room, and in this country particularly if he is a male youth; is the reality of a continuing war, an escalating war. They are now calling the war in South Viet Nam; that is is going to be a war in proportion to the Korean War. With the problem of war eventually with North Viet Nam and a likely war with China and a very definite possibility of World War III, is being proposed. If the front stays along this line, we are discussing as a base. That is the reality that faces us. It is the reality of our time. And what it means to everyone of us here is the future draft, war and ppssible death. Well that reality, I think, gives a sense of importance to what we are discussing tonight. And that is; we are discussing in essence the future of the anti-war movement, and it is that sector in society that is opposed to war in Viet Nam and wants to see it brought to a halt. We are discussing that it is basic to that anti-war movement and debate over where that anti-war movement wants to go. What should the anti-war movement do? What should it become? What slogan should it adopt, to revolve art this work .... around. Should it adopt a slogan for negotiated settlement in Viet Nam or should it it adopt a slogan of immediate withdrawal of foreign troops; ah, U. S. troops. Alright, now this is the base in the antiwar movement that has been going on for some time; as a matter of fact it has gone on throughout the continuous, the whole existence of the anti-war movement. What do Isay when I say 'Anti-War Movement'? I'm referring to whats popped up since last April at the SDS March on Washington, where you had all over the country independent antiwar committees popping up. There is over 300 of them now, and that is what I refer to as the anti-war movement. Well this is the base in this anti-war movement, ever since it started. PROFESSOR STAUGHTON LYND, was the one who began it, I believe, when he wrote about the destructiveness of coalition politics in the role of the Democratic Party, in Liberation Magazine along about the time of the April march on Washington.

And ever since then this debate has been going on in the anti-war momement and it has been going on hard and on a very high political level. Its gone through several subjects; it has gone through coalitionism in politics versus Independent Political Action. It has gone through exclusionary membership policy versus non-exclusionary membership policy, but now it evolves around the slogan, around the idea. What is the central slogan for the movement? Well, I think, in our discussion tonight we should put out right now, that these two slogans, whenyou discuss them, you of necessity have to discuss the perspective of the Movement. Recause, how can you discuss a slogan, that your going to evolve activity around without talking about where that activity is going to go. What is it going to do and what it is going to make the movement become. Well, let me throw out right now what I think is possible pall that you can go through when a movement is moving, that is, where can it possibly go? What possible prospectus does it have in front of it? I think there is two possible prospectus what will pull it out; one, of course, is working within the power structure, working within apparatus, working within the Democratic Party to change the foreign policy, to try to somehow maneuver within that power structure to force the war to a halt. The opposite to that, of course, is working without the Democratic Party without the Administration, without the power structure. Its that choice that the movement has made up until this time. Up until this time it has worked without the power structure. It has been purely an oppositional movement, that is, it says, stop this war, we want to replace it, we don't want to change it or do anything about it. You want to stop it and replace the foreign policy that is behind it. A rotten foreign policy that stems from trying to maintain American interests throughout the world and we are against it and we want to see it replaced. It stands repulsive there and wants to replace it. Well, that is the movements choice. I can tell you right now, I suppose many of you could tell me what JOHNSON's choice would be on these two polar perspectus. And that is, JCHNSON undoubtedly would like to see the anti-war movement within the range of his own party, the Democratic party, and he, of course, has a very good reason for that, I think, and that is, the Democratic Party's long long history of crushing, tainting protest movements that went into its ranks. And he can start, he can go way back in the Democratic Party and follow this through. He can start with Reconstruction. The Democratic Party was used as the agent for crushing Reconstruction in The South. The PATHOS(ph) party made the big joint Democratic Party and we haven't heard so much from them since. And there is many many other examples of this, and that is why JCHUSCN would like to see the anti-war movement within the ranks of his own party. Well, my proposition is that the slogan, bring the troops home now; that is withdraw the troops is the only slogan that can really be in character with the movement that has been upset since now, it is the only slogan that can rebuild the movement and its the only slogan that can really end the war. Or, opposed to that is a slogan negotiation. It changes the character of the movement, it won't really build the movement and it brings the movement into the orbit, the general brbit of the Democratic Party which it could be brought into, to contain.

Ckay, lets go on now, and examine what I've just said and see if its really the case. I want to start from a principlepoint of view, fro a democratic point of view, a democratic principle. And the democratic principle I start with is a very simple one. It is the ABC's of democratic principles. The right of nations to self-deter -mination. I think that most os us in this room tonight are for freedoms of democracy, democratic rights in general. Moreover, we are for total democracy, and as such, we support democratic rights. And one of those basic rights, ABC is a democratic right, the right of nations to self-determination. It is a right which the American Revolution recognized in 1776 and it is a right that the American Revolution forced old King George to recognize, as well. Our country was founded on the principle of the right of nations to self-deter -mination. Well, I don't think that we people in the advanced countries; such as the United States, or Western Europe or others can have any tolerance whatsoever. The idea that we have some right to tell, advise, coerce, influence countries in the colonial world, on what they should do. We can in no way think that we have any right to tell them what to do, because to think otherwise we would be right back to the old 19th century slogan, or theory, of the white man's burden. We have to respect the rights and ability of the people in the colonial countries, to do as they wish. For what does this concept self-determination mean, in Viet Nam? It means simply that we believe that the Vietnamese people have the exclusive right to decide what to do with their country; and what it should become and how it should become that. And they have that right totally free from outside intervention, influence, or coercion(ph); that is, we defend their democratic rights, just as we defend our own. But much spirit ceases(ph), the slogan, negotiations in any form flies right in the face of this right of self-determination because they are calling for negotiations to, in some way or another, recognize the right of the United Nations, United States, excuse me, to determine the future of Viet Nam. In one way or another your recognizing that the United States has some right, some interest in determining the future of Viet Nam. Well, in the course of my tour, several people brought up to me, that they support negotiations in order to implement the Geneva Agreement, which supposedly guaranteed self-determination, and they say that is why they support nagotiations. Well, I think, contradiction is obvious. How Americans can negotiate something which supposedly guarantees self-determination and that is. And when they meet in the middle, how do you negotiate self-determinations? Self-determination is a black and white issue; you can't take away part of it and still have self-determination. You can't take away a part and still have the whole. Well, you may say its not whole, but the Geneva Agreement supposedly guarantees self-determination. Well, its not really the case. Lets take a look and find out. I think the Geneva Agreements do have several good provisions and DR APTHEKER named several of them. Such as, no strong military bases in Viet Nam, unification of the country; those are all good in the sense that they conform to the situation in Viet Nam, conform to the wishes of the Vietnamese people, and the United States has violated every single one of them.

And its the anti-war's duty to make sure, to try to make the United States abide by those accords. But, I don't think, on the other hand, that you can construe the Geneva accords, as a guarantee of selfdetermination. And let me explain it this way. At the Geneva Conference, where the Geneva accords were agreed apon; you had two representatives from Viet Nam, and then, representatives from Britain, France, China, Soviet Union, and the United States. They all attended that conference and they all signed it, with the exception of the United States, but the United States agreed to it. That is what happened; the decisions prescribing the fate of the Vietnamese people; were made by all these powers. That is, they all chipped in and decided the future of Viet Nam. Wel', that is not quite self-deter -mination, not quite. As a matter of fact, its almost as cynical a thing as what happened at Potsdam, Yalta, and Teheran after World War II; when TRUMAN, and/or ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL, and STALIN sat around a table and calmly divided up the world, behind the worlds back. That concept of a conference to guarantee self-determination is entirely in contradiction of the rights of self-determination. Well to go further, the Geneva accords provides for elections to unite the country under International supervision and that, I've been told, is guaranteed self-determination. Well, thats not quite self-determin -ation either. That is the kind of self-determination PRESIDENT JOHNSON would like, because it guarantees him, his interest. You see, the United States is very powerful and it doesn't have, wouldn't have too much trouble using almost any international body in the world to pursue its own interests. But, to call for international elections in Viet Nam, would be like some drips calling for internation elections, eh, elections under international control in the United States. Now, I know good old PRESIDENT JOHNSON would be a little upset by people calling for such elections in this country, and I know a lot of other people who would be too, and I think the Vietnamese people have every right to be upset, about people calling for such elections in their own country. There is a little something else to that, embarrassing, doesn't that sound like the Vietnamese people aren't capable of running their own elections. Somebody has to come in and supervise them. It gets very close, to what I would call 'showmanism'(ph), which makes it very uncomfortable to the whole thing. Well, nothing could be farther from the idea of self-determination than this idea of implementing the Geneva accord; having negotiations around that. The only way we can guarantee self-determination, I think, is just simply get the troops out and let the Vietnamese people decide for themselves, what they want to do. Well, I see that my time is running a little short here. What I want to do now is to switch to another point, on this whole argument and that is, the debate on the whole anti-war movement. The answer is actually very simple, when you look at it, and that is, look at it from this point of view. The American people as a whole have absolutely no material interest in this war in Viet Nam, absolutely none, and just think about it for a minute. Think of it in terms of the sections of the American population. Start with the negro people, can you think of any possible material interest they have in this war? I can't think of any.

What about the white working class, do they have any interest? No. What about the students? No. Now you can go through the whole population and find that they don't have any material interest in this war, except for a very small minority, and by the way, that minority nobody talks about giving minority rights to, because they already have them. And that is the minority that happens to own most of this country. The minority to make the profit on bombs, bullets, helicopters in stopping colonial revolution. So it is from that point of view, you see. Well let me say something else. You see the slogan negotiate in some way recognizes that national interest, recognizes an interest in Viet Nam for the American people, or for some sections of the American population. It is implicit within the slogan negotiate, that your negotiating about American interests. And see, so from that point of view, you have to say that the slogan negotiate, has to be brought in from without and imposed upon movements of the American people and has to be imposed upon them and against their very own interests. And for that reason, amongst others, that I'm opposed to the slogan negotiate. I think the slogan is useless to the anti-war movement, the slogan negotiate. It disregards the self-determination of the Vietnamese people and imposes the material interests on the movement, which it does not have and in the course of doing this it draws the movement closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the power structure, draws into that general orbit and by doing that it lays the basis for the (garbled) of the movement. I think the slogan was wrong, on the other hand to reaffirm the character of the movement and by doing that, it places itself in solidarity with what is going on in the rest of the world, very clearly. You see that section of the world has said goodbye to the United States, has said goodbye to United States domination, has declared its independence and is going to fight for and settle for nothing less. That is, those countries in Latin America, and Africa, and Southeast Asia. The people in Santo Domingo made that decision. They said, no more for the United States, we're going for independence and we're settling for nothing less. The people in Viet Nam are obviously makeing the same decision, they wnat their independence and they want nothing less. I think it is time for the Anti-War Movement to do the same. Declare itself in solidarity with thosestruggles, to reaffirm the character and identify those people throughout the world. Declare its independence, recognize the enemy, in Washington, in the Democratic Party. Take aim and begin the process that can really end this war. That is, rally around the slogan, bring the troops home, build the movement and bring this war in Viet Nam to a halt, once and for all. Thank you. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: And now PROFESSOR ANATOLE RAPOPORT. (applause)

RAPOPORT: With regard to the alternative which I consider to be, the, in the best interest of the United States. I find that I have nothing to add to what MR APTHEKER or MR JONES, have said. I am in complete agreement with them and If I were to talk on this subject, it would be highly redundant. There are a few points, however, which I would like to take up which may not have been mentioned or possibly certain points of disagreement. I don't share the implicit optimism -

expressed by MR APTHEKER nor that expressed by MR JONES. I do not believe that, at the present time, there is yet enough of a force in the United Stattes to effect a real reversal of foreign policy. Let us make some calculations. It is said that about 30% of the adults in this country, 'Oppose The War in Viet Nam'. You understand that this 30% involves people in the widest section of opinion. That means about 38 million adults. Cut of these, I would venture to say, not more than 10% certainly are activists, in the sense that they would be willing to do something about the war in Viet Nam; lets say 3 million. Can we then say that we have a peace movement of 3 million persons in this country? We do not have such a peace movement. Because if we had such a peace movement, in a sense of a participant movement such as a re-discipline(ph) of evolution in political party proceedings. It would be possible to take lets say one-third of these three million people, lets say one million people and put them all into Washington at one time. That is what creates a world concession, you would not have any idea what it means to have one million people in a city. The great civil rights demonstration of August 1963 encompassed some hundred thousand people, and that was tremendous manifestation. A million people in Washington would attract world-wide attention and if they all sat down and refused to be moved (laughter), as I've seen some of you youngsters do; then it would really be a revolutionary situation. We do not have such a situation in the United States. The people who are opposed to the war in Viet Nam have a wide range of opinions and only a very small minority sees this situation, as MR APTHEKER, MR JCNES, and I see it. Namely, that there is only one alternative to try, and that is, the crime must stop and the criminal must be punished. Now there is nobody to punish the United States short of the uprooting(ph) of the world. This is an unfeasible solution. So what do you mean for the United States to shift its policy? It would mean, it would mean a recognition that the policy is wrong. It would not be enough to withdraw the troops from Viet Nam. I say, I would go much farther. I insist that not only must the troops be withdrawn from Viet Nam, but the policy must be denounced and not only for moral reasons, but for political reasons. Because, that the only original contribution to international politics that was ever made by this country, and it was a very great one, although a problem, was the destruct on of the old CLAUSEWITZ(ph) world. What do I mean by the CLAUSEWITZ(ph) world? It was a classical world of great powers by the great powers, in conflict of certain rules, naives(ph), and certain realizations of what the realities of international politics and war relaxed(ph). This is what CLAUSEWITZ(ph)(KARL VON CLAUSEWITZ?) maintained. The reality, presence of realities in international situations according to CLAUSEWITZ was that you pushed for as much as you could get, but you are always aware of what the other party can do to you. You never overstep your bounds. You never played for keeps. Limited war is the idea of the CLAUSEWITZIAN(ph) policy. Now this was very much the character of the world from about 1648 to 1940. The world from the 18th century on was largely dominated by the European powers, 19th century especially, and those powers vied with each other for positon of influence power and so on and they did not like to go to war if they felt that they could get away with it. This was the CLAUSEWITZIAN (ph)

The entry of the United States into World War I was a challenge to the CLAUSEWITZIAN system. Most important points, was in fact, a of the old CLAUSEVITZIAN system. Now you know that misfired. The old European powers were stronger than WILSON and he himself was much of a lunkhead(ph). So actually it wasn't ideal. This idea again in RCOSEVELT's time. When we entered World Mar comes up for a II, not from the view of another power vying for the position of power, but from the view of destroying a focus of world making potential in the world which was aimed at this country. So this was the one big contribution. Athough it was never realized. But it was a potential contribution that American international politics, of little thinking, made for this world. And it is precisely this contribution, which is now being the game(ph). They try to just write books about American national policy and how to conduct the cold war, war, nuclear wars; and how many is it, 49 varieties that MR KANN(ph) wrote about. These are all attempts to bring back the CLAUSEWITZIAN way of thinking; to make war respectable again. This is their aim. So that in order to put an end to it, it is not enough to simply withdraw troops from Viet Nam, an explicit addition must be made; that the United States disavow this kind of world. We cannot expect this of the present or any foreseeable future government of the United States. The people who get in power, who get elected to the Presidency, who get to be Cabinet Ministers, get to be Senators; most of them do not think in these terms. Not necessarily because they are evil men, I don't judge men individually good or evil just because they have not had experience, which would make them think in other terms. They simply don't know. They haven't lived the way 9/10's of the world population lives and they think in terms of sticking pins in the map and thinking about national interests in terms of drawing lines on maps; lines around the 'Communist land masses'(ph) with the idea that when you draw these lines and then translate these lines to hardware(ph) they are ready to present new social ideas for cleaning up in the world and from revolutionist attacks. And this is the way they think, and they are not going to change their way of thinking, unless something very drastic happems to them. And you know what it means when something very drastic happens to them, and it will happen to us too. I'm sorry if I'm giving you a very pessimistic picture, but this is the way I see it. Is then, there is no hope, at all? Yes, there is some hope, although I would venture to say that it is a very slim one. Maybe if things continue to pester this way, eventually and gradually public resentment will raise such a pitch that the politicians will find it expedient to do something else. And when they do something else, its another thing to be drastic in their confessions, and promises to reform; and now we are going to live in a new world, its not going to be that. It is going to be rationalized entirely different. Now how do we accomplish that? Because, I believe that people It is not accomplished by slogan, and I think it is idle to argue what should be the slogan of the peace movement. We haven't got a peace movement. (applause) And it will not be unified with that slogan. Now, does that mean I'm against slogans! No. I'm not against slogans. I'm all for slogans. I'll give you another example. I'm sometimes asked whether I advocate unilaterial disarmament.

Well, to bein with I don't advocate it because I think unilaterial disarmament is only half as good as bilaterial disarmament.(laugher) And incidentally, bilaterial and multilaterial disarmament are easier to achieve than unilaterial disarmament. So being easier to achieve and better, why should I advocate unilaterial disarmament. I don't. Does that mena that I'm against those that advocate unilaterial disarmament? No, I'm not. I say I do not advocate unilaterial disarmament but I do advocate the advocates using unilaterial disarmament. You follow? Is it as different as certainly you know it by name. Well, its thinking was this. I know the slogans, whether to get out of Viet Nam or whether to negotiate or as a matter of support, I even would support GENERAL GAVIN, even him, I will support. I will support anybody who maintains that the present policy is wrong and something else has to be done. Because, whatever is done, is going to be better than what is going on right now. (applause) So, therefore what would I like to see? I would like to see. What would I like to see? (audience laughs) I would like to see a complete defeat of the present United States foreign policy (applause) and a complete reversal. I would like to see somebody get up and make the kind of speech that NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV once made about STALIN. Something of that sort. (Garbled, laughter by audience) But it won't happen in this country, we don't have these kinds of traditions; you see. We never had a PEYEVSKY(ph), we never had the Moscow Trials, we never have any of these things that the Russians pride themselves so much of. (laughter) The sudden reversal of policies and all of a sudden everything that was good is bad and everything that was bad is good. We don't have these kinds of techniques, we can't do it. So, it will not happen. Face saving operation may happen, this may be. For example, in Korea, face was saved, China, and it did not develop into the 3rd World War and I remember that very well, as many of you in this room don't, but I do. And many of us thought that this was it. This was the end. Well, we got a reprieve. Maybe we'll get another reprieve, if we get another reprieve we can continue working at it. So, therefore, I say in answer to the question, "Whether we should work within the Democratic Party or outside the Democratic Party? These are idle questions. They should not be debated here. Everybody should work where he fits to this work. If you want to organize a party of your own, go ahead. If you want to demonstrate, go ahead. If you want to write letters, go ahead. And if you want to join the Democratic Party and work from within, go ahead. Thats good too. (applause) There are lots of ways of doing it and what would be a booster, is not to belittle somebodys method because no matter what, if it changes United States policy away from the collision course, on which it is now set, this is for the best, for all of us. (Applause) The only other big thing, can we hope eventually to get you. Thanks. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: (Indistinct)

HERBERT ATTHEKER: The two gentlemen who are speaking have very kindly invited me to say something. I want to say that PROFESSOR RAPOPORT labors under a misapprehension if he thinks that my views on this question (microphone interference) of MR JONES. They are infinitely closer to those professed by PROFESSOR RAPOPORT. I do not know how good that is for PROFESSOR RAPOPORT. (laughter) And I really hesitated to make that news public, but it is so. And when he began by saying that he disagreed with me in terms of optimism, does not seem enough now to change United States foreign policy. I don't either. I saw not now, I'm simply excited with joy. We're not far from love(all ph), when I think that we've made considerable advances and I have an optimistic approach perhaps, that is more so than his. I would like to spend a few minutes on the question, in terms of negotiation. Just say it quickly and sit down. negotiation may be non-negotiating, maybe The slogan of It may have intent as I think it often has had from Washington, to prevent the settlement of the war, to cover up escalation, and the makings of a war. But it may not. Negotiations happen in all wars. Every war is settled by negotiations. Including even the war which we said would not settle with anything but unconditional surrender. Even unconditional surrender has to be negotiated. And we negotiated with Germany and we negotiated with Japan. In both cases it was something else but unconditional incidentally after we got through negotiating. But in any case for once we didn't(ph) get it negotiated, unless you pursue a genocidal policy and in fact nobody would hope to get together anyway. But at some point it was over with, and the war ends, and when it does, it ended through negotiations. The DRV opposes surrender, it does not oppose negotiations. The NFL opposes surrender, it does not oppose negotiations. It has never said it opposes negotiations on the terms of JOHNSON, and I think in this, is right. Not only has it said that it does not oppose negotiations, it has a firm principle for such negotiations; the DRV in four points and the NFL in five(points). On the basis of which negotiations is to proceed. Now the quality(ph) of the peace movement has a bland and says no to negotiations, it may, and I think will, itself end up allied with the right. Because the certainly says no megotiations, Saigon says no negotiations, KY says no negotiations. So, I don't think that necessarily no negotiations is a simon pure revolutionary slogan. At any rate MARSHAL KY is a(n) (e)strange(d)(ph) revolutionary. That is his slogan. It is not mine. I think it is wrong. The DRV wants the broadest nature, by the way, of opposition to warin the United States, in regards to those people possibly to participate and the NFL has all sorts of slogans. You know the demonstrations and so on, in Saigon, the NFL is part of those demonstrations and they raise all sorts of slogans in Saigon, thats right. Thats our social security and everything else. They don't want MARSHAL KY, they want MARSHAL somebody else, whoever, he is. All kinds of opposition, those are NFL slogans. And furthermore, of course, they did negotiate at Geneva,; Geneva was negotiated. But we have been told here that self-determination is a sign of principles(ph) established in our revolution. Well we negotiated the and of our revolution. We negotiated a very long time with Great Britain and we signed the treaty of Paris.

(APTHEKER) And we got self-determination through a negotiated settlement, and there were certain terms, and the British remained a long time in our forts, they held all the forts in New York and Charleston(ph) and they remained there a long time, by agreement \_, and that is why retained the posts in the Northwest and the then Northwest and it took years of negotiations before we got them to leave. There were all sorts of negotiations. How much they would pay indemnity for the slaves that they took with them, and so on and so forth. So we negotiated, in a war, in which as we have been talking. MR JONES affirmed self-determination. Irrepeat, the DRV wishes to negotiate, so does the NFL. "e are told that Geneva does not guarantee self-determination, but the DRV and the NFL thinks that it does. I suggest that we not be to the left (ph) as these folks(ph). (laughter). They say that Geneva guarantees their right to independence and integrity and unity and that this is the right of self-determination, and that that right was recognized by the negotiating parties, and of course self-determination has to be recognized. A new nation has to appear in community relations and that must be negotiated. So they negotiated there and that is what the DRV and the NFL want. They want back to Geneva, the agreement of Geneva. They do not see this as a cynical(ph) reform(ph). Now we are told that there must be opposition to international supervision of elections, and that this is what PRESIDENT JOHNSCNwants, not at all. It depends on who is the supervisor. In Geneva was provided elections in 1956 and that was signed by the DRV and HC CHI MINGH and that government wanted and fought for it. Internationally supervised elections under the Geneva agreement and it was signed down in Washington, that said no, it is not true, that Washington wants that kind of elections. They didn't want them in '56, but that is why it wasn't down, and they don't want it now. But the DRV did want it in '56 and they want it now, and they are calling for it now. So I find myself very considerably in disagreement and not in agreement. This thing has to be negotiated, we must end this war, we must not be in the bind because of narotiations. We must have a responsible peace movement that we can get in many of our slogans and statements, and so on, We'll be much broader, much wider, much looser, much more flexible; than the DRV and the NFL, and they know that. And they say god-speed to you. Any kind of an opposition as PROFESSOR RAPOPORT mentioned is beneficial, is good and any kind to any limit depending upon the class consciousness, opinion of the person, these ought to be welcomed. And the achievement of the end of this war, is a process, a process, a practical process and they might have won. Thank you. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: Asks if there are any questions?

UNID MALE: (in background asks question, which is indistinct).

LINDA BELISIE: (Indistinct in the background)

RAPOPORT: Although co-education(ph) is such, some \_ in particular of my professional interests. I simply don't picture this kind of experience in terms of information input(ph). It isn'tthat one reads certain things or has knowledge of some facts that determines the kind of experience, that I alluded to. It has to do with the structure of our full life. Very few people in the United States have had the kind of experiences that motivate people in poor countries to stake their lives on a revolutionary movement (ph). It isn't a matter of knowing the facts, it is a matter of having gone through certain things, and that has the spirits, in a way, we often count it as a blessing. But it has \_\_\_\_\_\_, it may be \_\_\_\_\_. Now in regards to your question, do I conceive of them changing. I don't think that people in their middle age change. I do believe that it is quite possible that they might change policies but in order for the United States to become a different kind of an influence in world affairs. I believe that the generation has to die off. I don't think they can change any of that map, so as to initiate a real change in the kind of a country we are. Not only do the experiences of the individuals have to be different, but the kind of people who rase to the position of power; it has to be a different kind of personality. We could use(ph) everyone of them today. The same kind of people would appeal to this day. See in times gone by, there were revolutions and entirely different people would come to power. The kind of revolutions they had in Rusia say, or China, or Algeria. Different kind of people with different experiences, different ways of thinking; came to power. I do not think that sucha revolution will occur in the United States, shortly, of a world catastrophe and then of course these questions will become highly academic. That is why I'm indefinite(ph). I believe that the country suffers under a tremendous hanging(ph) of not having had certain experiences and since the experiences we have had as such, that we believe that the entire world should aspire to them and you will \_\_\_\_\_. It is extremely difficult for us even to put ourselves in place of people who are having entirely different experiences. Thats what makes it such an experience, at least in short. what happened in recent times, I don't know. Therefore, our present task is to somehow hold it and prevent for catastrophies from happening. Put as much pressure as we can for changes of policies, but you will not be able to very soon the change the character of this country. (applause)

UNID FEMALE drects question to APTHEKER or JONES and says it takes two sides of the same coin because our questions \_\_\_\_\_\_, it seems from different points of view. I'm torn when I hear MR JONES speak of a slogan - withdraw the troops now because I ve seen what slogans can do as a divisive force. Because they are hard and they are not flexible and they don't allow people with a wide range to come under the \_\_\_\_\_\_ of such a slogan. But at the same time, I'm alienated by what MR APTHEKER says because I view myself as a radical in the position

of a very small radical movement in this country to be taking the heart of mine possible because you'll have to set an example(ph). There will be enough people to fill in the middle. There will be plenty of people that say negotiate, there will be plenty of people that will say take it to the UN. There won't be plenty of people to say, get the troops out now, you have no legal basis to be there, get out. And the possible and the plausible are often not the position that the radical should take. But at the same time, I saw what happened at Washington with sloganism and the way people were at each others throats who should have been embracing each other and that is why I am torn and I'd like perhaps everybody on the panel to comment about that dilemma.

## LINDA BELISLE is indistinct

LEW JONES: Okay, I can understand the dilemma, as you say. I think first of all, that I may have been misunderstood by the members of the panel. I am for a very broad peace movement and there is something in many different slogans. But I address my remarks to that sector of the Peace Movement as the Anti-War Movement, that sector of the movement that is having a debate right now over what its future should be. And my experiences have been, from going around the country: in Washington, D. C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley, has been that people tend toward the slogan, bring the troops home. Now, I agree with DR RAPOPORT, that our movement is small and with this, I might even think that it is smaller than was estimated. I think that we have nothing but optimism for the future: in building. in the building of the movement. Because there is forces in operation right now, that is going to radicalize a lot of people. Now (JAMES?) RESTON today in his column (NEW YORK TIMES?) said that there is going to be 400 thousand troops in Viet Nam by the end of the year. That means, that war is going to get big, going to get brutal, and there is going to be a lot of Americans killed over there. The soldiers, I don't think are going to put up with a situation like that, for long. In addition, you have tax increases, we have inflation in this country and all these things operate on people. Tending to make them radicalized, tends to make them think about the war, tend to make them opposed to the war. And I think under those circumstances, the slogan, bring the troops home, will bring more people around to it, than the slogan, negotiate. But I may disagree with you, that the slogan, bring the troops home; there is not going to be many people calling for it. Because the slogan, bring the troops home; when you adopted it. it settled problems immediately. You no longer had increased taxes, to pay for the war, because you had no more war. The troops are brought home, right. The rational for inflation is taking over and you no longer have a drain of getting men to Viet Nam, they are all brought home. I think we can look forward with optimism to bringing a lot of people around the slogan, bring the troops home. So that is my answer to your dilemma.

RAPOPORT: You might not have been able to grasp what I said before. By all means do what you must. And my only advice to you is, that you not do it alone, MRS \_\_\_\_\_\_, this is the least effective way of protesting. Have some kind of an organized program, first. And second, you said it very well, people should be embracing each other instead they were at each others throats. See to it that you do not in your effort belittle the others \_\_\_\_\_\_. But by all means, do it. Because in order to do the pragmatic and the politically expedient thing, I think one of the best sports(ph) is the fun of ever loving.

APTHEKER: I'm afraid, PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, I agree again. (Laughter) I do want to say that the source of my optimism is not that of MR JONES. MR JONES is optimistic because he is sure that things are going to get much worse. He is optimistic because he is sure there will be 400 thousand troops, he is optimistic because if there are 400 thousand troops, there will be a lot more people killed. Going to have higher taxes. That is not what I'm talking about in optimism. That is not my road and I advocate that I want in terms of radicalization. No, you fight not only against the 200 thousand, you fight to get them all home. Now, on the specific dilemma, that you raised. I think a very real one. I said already I agreed with PROF RAPOPORT. I perhaps would add, this, ah, there is not necessarily a contradiction. For example, I velieve that the struggle against JIM CROW is one of the central elements in the struggle for social= ism. That is my opinion. Somebody else may not think so, and I may be wrong and it won't be the first time. Alright, suppose I'm wrong but will you struggle with me against JIM CROW? And you think that that struggle will not lead to Socialism. You may not even want Socialism. Okay, prove me wrong, please; but we will fight together against Socialism, against JIM CROWISM. (laughter) We will fight together against Jim Crow and then we will see if it leads to socialism. And we wilh fight for a more effective trade union, because I think that that is part of the way toward socialism; you don't believe(all ph). Lets nevertheless add a more effective class conscious note, and so on and so forth. I think the same thing is true with the peace movement. I believe the struggle for peace is an anti, inferring the struggle. I think the struggle itself, is a profound radical one, the most radical one that exists in the United States, which is the heart of Imperialism. And, therefore, I want to broaden it, with the kind of involvement, on any level inthat struggle and I myself have my own method. I myself see it from a long time period of time through Marxism time, and so on. And PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, I think, is altogether correct that this component to the left, is a very important thing in the whole coalition. Alright, but let it be a coalition. And let the tactic be broad. That doesn't mean that you hide what you say. You hide it, its not in coalition, but that you are fraternal and you are considerate and you do finally come to a vote and decide, and I would think, what exactly what you want. Okay, let us contribute to the peace movement, if you have a right to speak and if you are true of persuasion, so they'll come around to what you want.

APTHEKER: So, I don't, the point I'm making, that I think there is a relief in the dilemma, if its used, so to speak, emotionally and psychologically, in your own temperment in those terms. Don't hide, of course, how you feel. But at the same time insist upon cooperation with others and don't feel that way. You may be right, maybe partially right. But as you said, embrace with them on what they can agree upon. I know I've spoken long. I just want to make one more little point of a historic nature. I mentioned the antislavery movement and the divisions and how that hurt and so on and that nobody but historians remember the reasons, well that is true, but think further. One of the bitterest things was that there should not be Sunday maril or should there be Sunday mail. One element in the anti-slavery movement says there should be Sunday mail, mail delivery. One said there should not be. Why? Why is there not delivery on Sunday? Its because of religion. How can you have separation of church and state, really, if the state doesn't deliver the mail on Sunday. (laughter) If there must be one day they don't deliver mail let it be Monday. (laughter) Not the christian holiday of Sunday. Now this is funny, but I'm telling you people, we're tearing each other apart. Sunday mail or no Sunday mail, that is a fact. Alright we're distant and the solution of this question, in terms (ph), and so on and so on. We can't be prospective (ph), but, perhaps, perhaps we can learn a little in this way, maybe not the deepest kind of experience but my profession in history, and I'd like to think that it is useful. So, I'm just telling you that, that happened. And can't we learn from that, in terms of differences in the peace movement. That I think, a hundred years from now, if we all survive and if we do, presumably we will have had a peace movement; will look a little sillyto us. Like Sunday mail. Can we get that temperment? Can we make ourselves have that temperment, in the service of peace? I think we have to. I'm not urging that we should do so and embrace. (applause)

LINDA BELISLE: Indistinct

LEW JONES: I just want to clear up another misunderstanding, which I hope was not intentional. That is, I did not say that things were bad and therefore were going to get worse and therefore we should be optimistic. I simply said, that there are conditions in front of us over which we have no control, so lets see what they are going to look like and then from there what do we advocate to get people around it; in the circumstances. What in those circumstances should be the best thing for us to do? And as I think, I think we can advocate a thing that should pull them because that would be these same little appeals to people. So what, on the basis of pessimism, things are getting worse and therefore we are going to get better. I think, that it stems from the fact that people are going to rise up against this war, they are not going to like it, they are going to join in this movement to end the war. And sooner or later we'll have that movement so large that we'll get those 400 thousand troops home or those 200 thousand trops, whatever number it is, and we'll end this war once and for all and bring true justice to the Vietnamese people.

UNID MALE directs question which is indistinct on China and MAO TSE TUNG to APTHEKER

APTHEKER: No, I think what has been stated and what has been interpreted here are two different things. If one reads his works (MAO TSE TUNG?) one will not find quite what you have indicated. I know no evidence, nothing nearly comparable to the overwhelming evidence in terms of the United States; relative to China and Viet Nam. None. And I do know that the DRV is very jealous of its independence. Very jealous of its independence. And so is the NFL and each is independent to a great degree of each other. and the DRV is not about to permit itself to become subordinate to China or the Soviet Union, or to the United States. I know of no evidence that China and the Soviet Union seeks subordination but I see overwhelming evidence that the United States does. (Unid male in background is indistinct) Well, I'm just telling you what I see, that is my opinion and I'm giving it to you. Now, I think. I think that since you also have my opinion, I think that there is a left interim(ph) on the Central Committee or at best a majority of the Communist Party of China, I think it is the classical kind of leftism that LENIN analyizes (ph) and I think that this can lead to a kind of adventureism which isn't in any way comparable to Imperialism; but it can lead to a kind of adventureism and there is some evidence from the mouths , for example of FIDEL CASTRO and less persuasive evidence in terms of Indonesia, although pretty good evidence. That such disasterous leftist adventureists courses seem to have been attacked(ph) and I would in no way acquaint this with Imperialism, myself.

UNID FEMALE in background talks very fast and is hard to understand LINDA BELISLE asks UF if she has a question to which UF continues in her fast manner.

UNID MAIE then directs aquestion to APTHEKER, which is indistinct

APTHEKER: Having ideals and being idealistic is not quite the same thing, in the first place. In the second place, I emphasized, I thought I emphasized the material interests. For instance I said that without independence, one of the things that struck me most there, was the experiences I didn't understand. I think I understand now, is the real meaning of independence and its not just an ideal. And what I emphasized in my talk was that without independence those people have learned that there is no existence. And when they didn't have independence, as over the French, they didn't exist. And I gave you the example of one year in which two million starved to death. There are over 30 million people altogether. So that when they are fighting for independence, I didn't mean to convey the idea that this was some sort of an abstraction, and that philosophically they were idealists. Or that this was simply an ultraism(ph). It isn't at all. It is of deepest involvement and concern it is a matter of life and death. The other thing is that these are by no means all Communists. This is the entire nation spurring(ph) action

APTHEKER: in the movement and the NFL is a very broad movement; involving whole stratas of the population. So lets not the Communist get all the credit for this and no matter how fantastic you seem to think. We are, we are in it. And the NFL could not be successfully withstanding the military power of the United States and 200 thousand troops, if it did not involve practically the entire population. And most of it is not really politics.

HERBERT APTHEKER: They haven't done so because they feel that they are not just sufficiently broad. They want to encompass all segments of the population, including those in Saigon, and since they do not yet encompass all this they do not wish to set themselves up as a government; although, as the New York Times and everybody else says, they had more than half the population, taxes, schools, land reforms, and so forth. And this is relevant to this because their program calls for, one of their five points, is a broad national coalition neutral non-socialist government in the prolonged interim period; that is, their rprogram, of the NFL. I repeat again that the NFL is not simply a Communist movement, it is Communist under the name invented by DNIEM(ph), but if anyone here thinks that it is duped with Communists, like we have a score, you know. The press says 150 Communists killed, 260 Communists killed, hooray for us. Well they are 250 peasants who have been killed, some oft whom may be Communists and most of whom, I can assure you are not Communists. In the program of the NFL, they also specifically talk of uniting, in this government, not only all strata, but those in the successive Saigon Administrations, this is specifically stated, who are repentant, who are repentant. And so I said, well now whats that. Well, they said those who come to the conclusion that they are serving the United States, being part of the Saigon snoopers(ph) role, and this has to be terminated. Andonly one thing, that is the national independence of Viet Nam, they say that, and thats it. Now they will say no more to you, no more. That is one phase of . The second one is, that I just suggest to you that this concern over people not being killed, is to speak mildly, ironic. In terms of our daily slaughter of thousands and thousands of people. If this is our concern, lets stop killing people.

I mean even if the idea is that we don't want executions, and so on okay, if thats the problem lets talk about that in terms of how we are assured that there are no executions; but since we are motivated by a desire that people not be killed, lets stop killing people and at the same time figure out how best we can assure that there is not mass executions. (Background voice is indistinct). Well alright, I don't know how. Then it is not my responsibility. I'm not in Saigon, I'm not in Hanoi. There is no evidence of a for such mass executions. There is an International

Control Commission, both that the Army and NFL warned(ph) Geneva and that provides for an International Control Commission to supervise an election. Why can't they not supervise to see that there are not such executions? Surely, that is easier than supervising an election, and the DRV and the NFL says that they want the ICC in control, they won(ph) at Geneva. Okay, lets do that, perhaps, but at any rate lets we discuss what we do. But meanwhile since the motivation of your questions is, that people are being killed, lets stop killing people we must, okay, I think so.

Q: UNID MALE in background, I'd like to ask MR APTHEKER, if he foresees the possibility of a violent American Revolution in the fiear future? (Laughter in the audience)

APTHEKER: No, short of a war on American soil, I do not foresee any such possibility.

Q: UNID MALE in background is indistinct, but audience applauds and laughs.

APTHEKER: I don't know wat this does to the Professor, and this is a little unusual for me in the United States. I mean this kind of note something there in terms of violent revolution, and I think that there is a certain assumption of the revolution of the revolution. is, if it isn't violent it isn't a revolution. This is quite possibly true. And the definition of revolution, in no way necessitates violence, in no way. And one may have a violent revolution as in Algeria, which of course the violence came from the reactionaries . Or what they have in non violent form, like in Ghana. In which the Prime Minister of the new Republic was taken out of jail, there was no violence, and he was sworn in as Prime Minister in his prison garb. I think that is the first time in history. Now when he appears at state functions, his state function dress is his prison garb. But that is nonviclent, so I just wanted to add that note and then I agree with PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, that if it comes to violence, to civil war, significant violence; that, I think would be consequence of catastrophic experiences and developments, such as, possibly a war but I don't see that as necessarily the only way to revolutionizing of this society. And I suggest that there are other ways, of doing so, much violence. Well not necessarily violent. Now you see that open, and anyone who closes it, I think is wrong and also silly, both.

Q: UNID MALE directs a question to DR APTHEKER. I admire your objectivity in your approach tonight and I would if it would be possible, that you could answer me a personal question. Why is it that you haven't immigrated to the Soviet Union, being you,

? APTHEKER is heard to say, if that question is mine,
I'd like to answer it. (Applause).

APTHEKER: I mean, I thought that this was a very serious and perfectly straight forward question without bringing insult or injury to \_\_\_. And by the way I have been insulted very much and answer two questions. (Mixed conversation - indistinct)

APTHEKER: I don't know how I gave you the impression that I might want to migrate. When I'm away from here, from the United States, I'm very unhappy. I miss, this country. In fact, I can get terribly schmalzy(ph) about it, and I don't want to, really, but its true, I missit greatly, I love it here. This is home where I was born, my kids are here, my wife is here, I've been very happy generally, in my relationships. I love my mother, I love my father. (audience laughs). I don't know how I became a RED. (Laughter and tremendous applause by audience). No apològies My wife is very happy. I can't wait to get up in the morning, I can't wait to get up. I would not change positions with anybody, not even PROFESSOR RAPOPORT, (laughter), nobody. So this is it and this is where I am. And in terms of being a radical, this kind of question was asked, for instance, of GARRISON(ph), He kept going back and forth to England, why don't you stay in England you love it so much over there. They were abolishing the slavery in the West Indies, they give you a lot of money; and they did you know and he was held to be an agent of QUEEN VICTORIA, he probably was. At least there is no evidence anymore. And all his papers are open. He was just a radical here, who believed that there should be a fundamental change. That is what I think, here. I'm not talking about Russia, at all and when we have Socialism here, it will be ours. We'll have it because most American poeple want it, and want it passionately. Want it so passionately that it can't be held away from us. If that is not true, we'll never have Socialism here. I think it will be true in time and when we have it, it is going to be a beaut. I have got to show you the statement, you can make the most of it you want. But when we have it, with our technique, our capacity, our energy, our ingenuity, and when we get rid of this festering(ph) kind of moral base of Capitalism, and so on. It is going to be one helluva country, you know it. So, I'm anxious to bring him(ph) by. I can taste it. That is why I (applause) it.

Q: UNID MALE directs question(which is indistinct) to PROFESSOR RAPOPORT.

RAPOPORT: I honestly do not know. I don't know what China would do. It is certainly not out of the question. The only historical experience we have is Korea, when China felt herself threatened by the approaching American troops on the Chinese border and it

looked as if these troops would cross the border. (blank) crossing the border and China entered the war with disasterous consequences for the United States. It might have been highly probable since it strictrly was not secret authority on this subject, not knowing what the Chinese tragedy is or what was in the minds of the Chinese leaders.

APTHEKER: Once again my view is substantially that. I would add this, if I may. And that is that the Chinese realized unless the DRV says do something. This was an important point and the DRV, I repeat is very jealous of their sovereignity and their independence, that is the whole point of the battle. And I repeat it, the Chinese or anybody else. By the way they have 160 million volunteers, the DRV. This 160 million is quite a strategic reserve and they are not by all means Chinese. There is none to spare because they have not been asked. Now, they are not anxious to ask, because that means general war in escalation and such devastation will happen in their country. They don't want that. That is the only thing that I would add. If and when the Chinese come in, one reason will be, of course; Chinese ideas, consideration, interest, what they think is necessary and son on. But you may be sure that the DRV will say please come in and help us now. Otherwise, they won't come in, nor will anybody else.

UNID FEMALE in background is heard to mention PROFESSOR AN ATOLE RAPOPORT and HERBERT APIHEKER's name. (Audience applause)

# Memorandum

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

ГО

F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: STAUGHTON CRAIG-LYND-UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM .

MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Mohr

DATE. 4/5/66

l - Mr. Wick - Mr. Sullivan

- Mr. Baumgardner

- Mr. Franck

- Mr. Reddy

Callahan

Conrad .

Rosen Sullivon Tavel . Trotter

Tele, Room

Holmes .

My memorandum dated March 24, 1966, advised that Staughton Craig Lynd, the Yale University professor who recently returned from unauthorized and illegal travel to Communist China and North Vietnam, together with Herbert Eugene Aptheker and Thomas Hayden, and whose passport was "tentatively withdrawn" by the State Department on 2/2/66, had initiated civil action against the Secretary of State in the United States District Court, Washington, D. C. This action sought to enjoin the Secretary of State from enforcing the withdrawal of Lynd's passport and to obtain an order directing the Secretary of State to allow Lynd to travel during the period from 4/7/66 to 4/18/66 so that he may handle scheduled speaking engagements in London, England and Oslo, Norway.

Department Attorney Benjamin Flanagan advised today that on Wednesday, 3/30/66, the hearing on Lynd's petition was held before U.S. District Judge Oliver Gasch. Judge Gasch ruled that Lynd should first exhaust his administrative remedy in objection to the withdrawal of his passport through a hearing before a State Department hearing officer and an appeal from a possible adverse ruling to the Board of Passport Appeals. Judge Gasch ordered the State Department to complete this administrative procedure and to reach a decision not later than **\4/6/66.** 

62-111917
Department Attorney Flanagan said that Lynd was afforded a hearing before a State Department hearing officer on 4/1/66 at which time he was advised that the withdrawal of his passport would be cancelled if he would promise not to violate State Department travel restrictions for the entire period during which his passport will be valid. Lynd's reply was that while he would promise not to violate travel restrictions in connection with his trip to England and Norway, he would not promise that he would abide by such restrictions for the duration of the TREOFS - 1007 - 34164

EBR:jas (8)

CONFINUED COVER NOT RECORDED

100-396916 ORIGINAL FILED

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan RE: STAUGHTON LYND

validity of his passport. The State Department hearing officer then ruled against Lynd and the case was considered on 4/4/66 by the Board of Passport Appeals. The decision of this Board, which must be approved by the Secretary of State, is to be rendered today and will be made available to Judge Gasch tomorrow by Department Attorney Flanagan.

Flanagan said that the Department of Justice will take the position that even if Lynd agrees not to violate travel restrictions for the duration of the validity of his passport, the withdrawal should not be cancelled since Lynd has established through an earlier violation of these restrictions that he is not credible. Flanagan noted, however, that if the Board of Passport Appeals and the Secretary of State overrule the hearing officer or if Lynd agrees not to violate travel restrictions during the entire period of the validity of his passport, Judge Gasch will probably go along with the State Department and order the withdrawal of Lynd's passport cancelled.

#### ACTION:

For information. You will be advised of the finding of the Secretary of State and the ruling of Judge Gasch in this matter.

MW

## ADDENDUM BY THE INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION: EBR: jas 4/5/66

At 4:15 p.m., today, Department Attorney Flanagan advised that he had just ascertained that while the Board of Passport Appeals and the Secretary of State had held that the withdrawal of Lynd's passport should not be cancelled, the State Department will issue Lynd "limited travel documents" for his trip to England and Norway during the period from April 7 - 18, 1966, on the assurance that Lynd will not attempt to violate State Department travel restrictions in connection with this trip. According to Flanagan, the only salutary effect of this ruling by the Department of State is that whenever Lynd desires to engage in foreign travel in the future, he must apply for "limited travel documents" and must assure the Department of State GNO WORDS that he will not violate travel restrictions. Flanagan is of the opinion that Judge Gasch will approve this action by the Department of State when he is advised tomorrow.

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General

April 11, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED & HEREINIS UNGLASSIFIED
DATE 4-14-8000 PY 60267 NUMERICO

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, in the captioned matter and to my letter dated February 8, 1966, setting out information regarding the confidential informants and sources utilize in Special Agent Ascherl's report.

Attached is a copy of the report of Special Agent Ascherl dated March 29, 1966, at New York, setting out additional information regarding the travel to North Vietnam by Herbert Eugene Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden and analyzing various writings and speeches of these individuals upon their return to the United States.

No further investigation is contemplated in this case in the absence of a specific request from the Department

Enclosure

100-123974 100-396916

100-438281

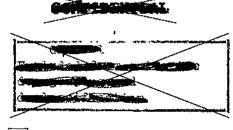
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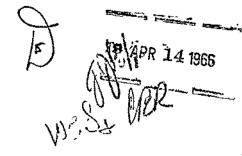
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Classified "Confidential" as the enclosure is so Enclosure so classified since it contains classified. information, the disclosure of which could reveal the sources and adversely affect the national defense.

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UNITED STATES GG RNMENT

# Memorandum

FROM

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)

DATE:

4/18/66

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF US PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT; CONSPIRACY

ReNYairtel to Bureau dated 3/23/66.

At the New York Public Library, Newspaper Morgue, on West 43rd Street, NYC, the following NY dailies were examined for the period 12/16 to 21/65 for any statement allegedly issued to the press by HERBERT APTHEKER prior to his trip to Hanoi, North Vietnam:

"New York Herald Tribune", "New York World Telegram", "New York Journal American".

No statement by APTHEKER was located in these publications for the above period.

The only publication carrying any statement by APTHEKER purportedly issued before his departure for Hanoi, is "The Worker", issue of 1/11/66, page six, which statement is set forth in the report of SA VINCENT J. ASCHERAL dated 3/29/66 at NY and titled as above.

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

OPTIONECTORM NO. TO MAY 1962 EDITION GSA IPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6 UNITED STATES GOVE NMENT emoranāum ΤO : DIRECTOR, FBI (1<del>00-123974)</del> DATE: 5/13/66 **MAC,** NEW YORK (100-80532) SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENF, APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETTA HAYDEN: UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM: MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT ReBulet to NY, dated 4/7/66. Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies, as instructed, of "Mission to Hanoi", a paperback written by HERBERT APTHEKER, with prefaces by STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN. International Publishers MAN 72 1866 MAY 16 1966 "ENCLOSURE ATTACHED" **EX-108** ENCLOSURE 2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM) 1-New Maven (100-18293) (STAUGHTON LYND) (RM) 1 - Newark (100-40690) (THOMAS HAYDEN) (RM) 1 - New York VJA; ats Deleted Copy Sent (1) (5) Per FOIA Rec it Ed 3 1 1966. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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Memo to Mr. Sullivan

RE: TRAVEL OF TWO INDIVIDUALS TO NORTH VIETNAM

1/31/68, TO CONTACT UNITED STATES

PRISONERS OF WAR

#### ACTION TAKEN:

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#### RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached teletype to the White House, State Department and the military intelligence agencies be approved.

OF

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1325321-1
Total Deleted Page(s) = 13
Page 14 ~ b3;
Page 15 ~ b3;
Page 16 ~ b3;
Page 17 ~ b3;
Page 95 ~ b3;
Page 112 ~ b3;
Page 141 ~ b3;
Page 196 ~ Duplicate - Pg 144;
Page 213 ~ Duplicate - Pg 85;
Page 216 ~ Duplicate - Pgs 86 - 91;
Page 219 ~ Duplicate - Pgs 86 - 91;
Page 220 ~ Duplicate - Pgs 86 - 91;
Page 221 ~ Duplicate - Pgs 86 - 91;
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MAY 1962 EDITION GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27 UNITED STATES GO RNMENT Mohr MemorandumCallahan Conrad Felt Gale AND HEILERT AptheKER Mr. W. C. Sullivan TO January 3, 1966 Sullīvan FROM : F. J. Baumgardner - Mr. DeLoach Holmes . Mr. Mohr Gandy - Mr. Wick SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON LYND; & K. Staughton Canio Lund. - Mr. Sullivan - Mr. Bland 1 - Mr. Baumgardner THOMAS HAYDEN, AKA Thomas Emmett PHAYDEN l - Mr. Bartlett UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTHl - Mr. Reddv MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT: LOGAN ACT; CONSPIRACY On December 19, 1965, Herbert Eugene Aptheker, a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA; Request Staughton Lynd, a professor at Yale University and a former member of the American Youth for Democracy, which has been designated as subversive under Executive Order 10450; and Thomas Hayden, former National President of the militant, socialist oriented youth group Students for a Democratic Society, left the United States on a "peace mission" to North Vietnam. While attending a peace conference in Helsinki, Finland, during the Summer of 1965, Aptheker allegedly received an invitation to visit North Vietnam and to bring two noncommunists and Aptheker invited Professor Lynd and Hayden to accompany him. Lynd is also a member of the editorial board of the magazine "Viet Report," which is highly critical of American policy in Vietnam. instructed by "Viet Report" to attempt "to clarify the peace terms of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam" and the magazine is allegedly financing the trip. We have furnished State, b3 and the Department all information we have developed regarding this trip by Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden, including the fact that Aptheker was carrying a personal letter from Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, to HO Chi-minh, President of North Vietnam. 1 - 100-396916 (Lynd) **REC-56** 1 - 100-438281 (Hayden) 100-123974 JAN 10 1966 Cr. radio EBR/pcn (11)CONTINUED over

Memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to Mr. W. C. Sullivan Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER:

STAUGHTON LYND; THOMAS HAYDEN

100-123974

Realizing that this trip to North Vietnam constituted a possible violation of several Federal statutes and since the matter has been receiving extremely wide spread newspaper publicity, inquiry was made this morning of Department Attorney James Welden to determine whether the Department is actively considering prosecution when Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden return to the United States.

Welden said that the Department is extremely interested in prosecution and has been in contact with the Department of State along this line. Welden said that State is presently preparing a letter of referral to the Department requesting a prosecutive opinion. Upon receipt of this letter, the Department will refer the matter to the Bureau and will request any additional specific investigation indicated. Welden said that the cases will be considered under (1) the Logan Act, which proscribes an unauthorized person from dealing with a foreign government in an effort to influence its relations with the United States; (2) under Section 1185(b), Title 18, United States Code, which proscribes travel to countries to which travel is forbidden by the Secretary of State; (3) under Section 1544, Title 18, United States Code, which relates to misuse of United States passports; and (4) under Section 371, Title 18, United States Code, which is the general conspiracy statute.

Welden reiterated that the Department is extremely interested in prosecution, but that no action is requested of the Bureau pending receipt of the forthcoming letter from the Department.

### **OBSERVATIONS:**

We will continue to furnish the Departments of Justice and State, any further information we develop regarding this matter and will expeditiously handle any investigation specifically requested by the Department in its forthcoming letter.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter confirming the conversation with Welden be transmitted to the Department.

err MVY) 2

Ed

Callahan Conrad

Feit Gate Rosea Sallavan Tavel Protter

Assistant Attorney General Director, FBI HERBERT YUGENE APTHEKER: STAUGHTOR LYND; THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM: MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT: CONSPIRACY

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

January 5., 1966.

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Mohr 1 - Mr. Wick

1 - Mr. Sullivan

- Mr. Bland

- Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Bartlett

1 - Mr. Reddy

Reference is made to the discussion on Januari 1966, between Mr. James Welden of the Internal Security Division and Supervisor E. B. Reddy of this Bureau regard possible prosecutive action against Herbert Eugene Apther Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden for engaging in unauti travel to North Vietnam.

Pending receipt of a specific request from the Department, investigation will not be conducted by this Bureau looking toward a possible violation of the various statutes involved. Any pertinent information coming to our attention will, however, be made available to the Department of State the Internal Security Division.

#### 100-123974

1 - 100-396916 (Lynd)

1 - 100-438281 (Hayden)

EBR/pcn

NOTE:

62-111917-Classified Confidential" as it relates to possible prosecutive plans of the DepartmentREC. 13 /c 0 = / - / - / - /

See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 1/3/66, same

caption. EBR/pcn MAILED 19 JAN 5 1566 COMM.FDI

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NY 100-80532

reservation with one of these airlines for travel to Prague, Czechoslovakia. Contact is also being made with confidential source in

NYC, where APTHEKER customarily

A copy is designated for WFO for information. It is anticipated that APTHEKER will not apply for United States passport facilities in connection with above proposed trip, since he possesses U.S. passport number E681400.

Copies are designated for New Haven and Chicago in view of the contemplated travel on the part of individuals from their respective divisions to Hanoi.



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

#### UNITED STATES-DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



New York, New York BUTILE 100-123074 December 14, 1965 NYFILE 100-80532 Class. & Ext. Dy
Reacon - EQ. 11, 1-2.12

Date of Review

Herbert Eugene Aptheker Internal Security-C: Internal Security Act of 1950.

All confidential sources utilized in this communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

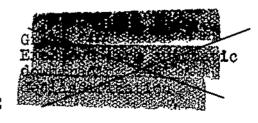
Confidential source Number 1 furnished the following information on December 13, 1965:

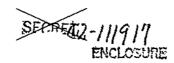
Herbert Aptheker, Director of American Institute for Marxist Studies, 20 E. 30th Street, New York, New York; Carl Oglesby, President of Students for a Democratic Society, Chicago; and Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, are leaving Saturday, December 18, 1965, for Prague, Czechoslovakia, via air. They plan to stay in Prague about two days and then travel on Czechoslovak Airlines to Hanoi, North Viet Nam, via Brussels, Belgium. No additional information was available at this time. from the above source.

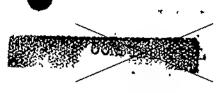
Confidential source Number Two advised in December, 1959, that Herbert: Apthekor was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (USA) at its 17th National Convention, held December, 1959.

The American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) is characterized in the appendix hereto.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.







Herbert Eugene Aptheker

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APPENDIX

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, HERBERT APTHEKER stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. APTHEKER stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the MC CARRAN and SMITH Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised on May 7, 1965, that as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor west at 20 East 30th Street, New York City, New York.

Date: 12,20/65

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NY 100-80532

furnished information to SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL. APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN were observed departing John F. Kennedy International Airport, NYC, 12/19/65 by SA ASCHERL.

New Haven and Newark will submit LHMs on STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN, respectively. For the information of these offices,

Air India, advised SA ASCHERL on 12/19/65 that STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN, in the company of HERBERT APTHEKER, boarded Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, which departed Kennedy

boarded Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, which departed Kennedy International Airport, NYC, 9:00 PM, en route London, England. At London, England, all three individuals had connecting reservations on British European Airlines Flight departing London, England, 11:00 AM, 12/20/65, for Prague, Czechoslovakia.

exhibited the I-94 on THOMAS E. HAYDEN which reflected his current address as 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, traveling on Passport Number F1027114. Photo in NYO file on THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, NY 100-148904, is identical with THOMAS E. HAYDEN observed in the company of LYND and APTHERER departing Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65.

STAUGHTON LYND was also identified from photo in NYO file 100-110531 on STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND, Professor at Yale University.

of above three individuals to determine if they were in order and that all three had the same itinerary to Prague, Czechoslovakis.

It should be noted that APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN were originally scheduled to depart New York on Sabena Flight 548 departing at 8:30 PM, 12/19/65. However, this flight cancelled at the last hour and they immediately booked passage on Air India Flight 116 departing 9:00 PM, 12/19/65.

As a security precaution, it was not deemed advisable at the Air India Terminal to press their personnel for a review by Special Agents of all I-94s departing on this flight. However, it is anticipated these I-94s will be in the possession of INS, NYC, on 12/21/65. A review will be conducted at that time to determine if possible whether any other individuals of interest to the Bureau departed for London on this Air India Flight.

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NY 100-80532

It should be noted that no information has been received by the NYO as to the specific purpose of the trip to Hanoi on the part of the above three individuals. However, it is possible that said trip will be used for propaganda purposes against United States involvement in Viet Nam.

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UNLIED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JITICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York December 20, 1965

Bufile 100-123974 NYfile 100-80532

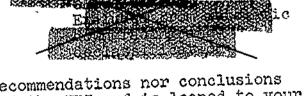
> Herbert Eugene Aptheker Internal Security - C Internal Security Act, 1950

Reference is made to previous communications submitted concerning proposed travel on the part of Herbert Aptheker to Prague, Czechoslovakia and Hanoi, North Viet Nam.

Herbert Eugene Aptheker was observed by Special Agent personnel, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), departing John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, on Air India Flight 116, 9:00 PM on December 19, 1965, en route London, England.

Aptheker was originally scheduled to depart at 8:30 PM, December 19, 1965, on Sabena Flight 548 en route to Brussels, Belgium; however this flight was cancelled at the last hour. Aptheker left the Sabena Airlines Terminal at 8:00 PM and walked to the Air India Terminal which is an adjoining building.

Air India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, advised on December 19, 1965 that Herbert Aptheker booked passage on Air India Flight 116 which departed Kennedy International Airport at 9:00 FM on December 19, 1965 en route London, England. At London, Aptheker had a connecting flight on British European Airlines to depart London at 11:00 AM on December 20, 1965 for Prague, Czechoslovakia. advised that he checked the



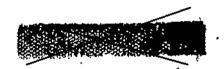
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



Herbert Eugene Aptheker

passport of Aptheker prior to departure to determine if it was in order.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in December 1959 that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (USA) at the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, held in December 1959.



REGISTERED MAIL -RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

JAN 5 1966

light Tr. Year Ley:

information has been furnished to this department by Othe Federal Bureau of Investigation reflecting that forbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Smmett Layden are treveling to north Viet Lan.

The information, contained in FDI memoranda dated December 9, 1965 and Pecember 14, 1965 reflects that the Love individuals would depart from New York on December 13, 1065, arrive in Prague on Lecember 20 and proceed from there to Hanoi.

Herbert Aptheker is the bearer of Passport do. 3 681400 issued on July 10, 1964. Staughton Lynd was issued Pascport, on December 8, 1965 at Doston. Thomas Trett Mayden was issued Passert To. F 1027114 on December 16, 1265 at lew York. Lone of these individuals have passports velidated for travel in North Viet Nam.

In view of the presently available information these cases are referred to you for consideration of prosecution untler 8 UCG 1185 and 18 UCG 1544.

This Department is presently in the process of checking with its posts in the Dar Bast in an effort to obtain durther information and evidence concerning the travel of these individuals. We will keep you advised of all developments.

Sincerely yours, 62-111917-

bbs 2. Ichwartz

The Henorable J. Walter Teacley

Assistant Attorney General,

Internal Security ivision, Department of Justice.

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(11)

Memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to Mr. W. C. Sullivan HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;

STAUGHTON LYND: THOMAS HAYDEN

100-123974

admissions made regarding their travel to North Davitt requested that the willingness of representatives of the news media to testify be ascertained and they should be requested to retain handwritten notes, as well as any audio or audio-video tapes of the interviews.

(3) Contact the appropriate official of the United States Customs Service in New York City and prepare copies of the tape recordings which were taken from Hayden by Customs. Also, ascertain generally the nature of literature taken from Hayden. Davitt specifically requested that this item be handled immediately and the original tape recordings be returned to Customs since Hayden will undoubtedly demand the return of this material.

Davitt said that a letter requesting the above investigation would be immediately prepared by the Department and transmitted to the Bureau.

At 4:15 p.m. Supervisor Warren Marchessault of the New York Office was telephonically instructed to immediately carry out the Department's instructions with reference to the three items listed above. He was instructed to prepare interview report forms where appropriate and to advise the Bureau of the nature of the tape recordings seized from Hayden before beginning to prepare verbatim transcripts. It is contemplated that the Department will be advised of the nature of the recordings and it will be determined from the Department at that time whether verbatim transcripts are desired.

Marchessault was also instructed to have sources of the New York Office attend the meeting which is scheduled to be held on Sunday, January 16, 1966, at Manhattan Center, New York City, at which Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden are scheduled to comment on the results of their travel to North Vietnam.

### ACTION:

For information. The telephonic instructions to New York set out above are being confirmed by airtel and copies of the letters from the Department will be furnished the New Che. to York Office upon their receipt at the Bureau.

1/11/66

Airtel

1 - Bland 1 - Reddy

To: SAC, New York

From: Director FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT CONSPIRACY

ReButelcall to Special Agent (SA) Warren Marchessault, 1/10/66, relaying instructions from the Department that the following investigation be immediately conducted in the captioned matter:

> (1) Interview Customs and Immigration and Naturalization Service personnel who processed the re-entry of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden, with particular emphasis on any admissions these individuals may have made that they had been in North Vietnam.

(2) Interview representatives of the press, radio and television who interviewed Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden at Kennedy International Airport and ascertain any admissions made regarding their travel to The willingness of representatives North Vietnam. of the news media to testify should be ascertained and they should be requested to retain handwritten notes, as well as any audio or audio-video tapes of the interviews.

(3) Contact the appropriate official of the United States Customs Service in New York City and prepare copies of the tape recordings which were taken from Hayden

Tolson 100-396916 (Lynd) 100-438281 (Hayden) Sullivan

MAIL ROOM LA TELETYPE UNIT

by Letter // / Letter\_

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Felt. Gale . Rosen

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Tele. F Holmes Gandy

Airtel to New York
Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN

100-123974

by Customs. Also, ascertain generally the nature of literature taken from Hayden. This is to be handled immediately and the original tape recordings returned to Customs since Hayden will undoubtedly demand the return of this material.

SA Marchessault was instructed that interview report forms be prepared where appropriate and that the Bureau should be advised of the nature of the tape recordings in the possession of Customs so that a decision can be obtained from the Department as to whether verbatim transcripts should be prepared from the copies obtained by the New York Office.

Instructions were also furnished SA Marchessault that arrangements should be made to have panel sources attend the meeting which is scheduled to be held on Sunday, 1/16/66, at Manhattan Center, New York City, at which Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden are scheduled to speak on their trip to North Vietnam.

The above instructions are being confirmed by letter from the Department and copies of this letter will be furnished your office. The Department is also requesting, by separate letter, investigation to establish the itinerary of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden and their specific intent, at the time they left the United States, to proceed to North Vietnam. Copies of this latter letter will also be furnished your office in the immediate future with appropriate instructions and comments.

Since this case is receiving extensive press coverage and is of primary interest to the Administration, the investigation should be hand/Ed expeditiously and thoroughly.

#### NOTE:

Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 1/10/66, advised that the above instructions had been telephonically furnished the New York Office and that a confirming airtel would be sent to New York.

Memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to Mr. W. C. Sullivan HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER: STAUGHTON LYND: THOMAS HAYDEN

100-123974

I told Yeagley that if we receive any inquiries we would reply by stating that we are investigating the case at the specific request of the Department.

At approximately 3:40 p.m., 1/11/66, Yeagley called and said he had talked to the Attorney General and the Attorney General was concerned that the investigation might cause a "furor." Yeagley said in view of this, we should restrict our investigation to interviewing members of the press media who were known to have been at the airport when Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden returned to the I told Yeagley that we had the names of six or United States. seven of the newsmen who were present. I also advised him that NBC had handled the television broadcast. In addition, Yeagley was informed that we had already, in line with-the Department's request, contacted the Customs agents in New York City and obtained material from them which is pertinent to this case. I advised Yeagley that there were additional representatives of the news media present at the airport, but that we would have to make inquiries to determine just who they were. Yeagley says he wanted the investigation restricted to interviews of the press representatives whose identities we already have.

I told Yeagley we would do this, but that the investigation would be far from complete. He said he realized this. I told him we would prepare a report as soon as the interviews are concluded and would forward it to the Department. Yeagley was advised that we would do nothing else until we had received a specific written request from the Department.

### ACTION:

I called our New York Office and instructed Security Supervisor Marchessault to complete the interviews with the press representatives which were known to have been at the airport when Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden arrived. I told him to do nothing else except immediately submit a report.

When this report is received, it will be promptly furnished to the Department and no further action will be taken until we receive a request from the Department. Our Response will specify IN WRITING THAT OUR INVESTIGATION WAS KIMITED

THAT REQUESTED by

### UNITED STATES GOVERMENT

## Memorandum

Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

January 1- 1936

JUNG

TO

J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General Internal Security Division

(/

SUBJECT: HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND

THOMAS EMPETT HAYDEN

PASSPORT VIOLATION

This will confirm a telephone conversation on January 10, 1966 between Mr. John H. Davitt of this Division and Special Agent Edward Reddy of the Bureau regarding the captioned subjects.

It was requested of Agent Reddy that the Bureau secure copies of any statements made by the subjects to newspapermen upon their return to the United States concerning their travel; to North Vietnam, with emphasis on any statements which might constitute admissions on their part which would be evidentiary of a violation of Title 8, U.S.C., Section 1185(b); Title 18, U.S.C., Section 1544; Title 18, U.S.C., Section 963 or Title 18, U.S.C., Section 371. It was also requested that the availability of such individuals to testify as to these statements be determined. In implementing this request, we do not believe that wholesale interviews of newspapermen be conducted, but rather that only those select few who may have knowledge of such statements be contacted.

It was further requested that representatives of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Bureau of Customs be interviewed to determine whether or not the subjects made any admissions regarding their travel to North Vietnam during the course of their being processed for re-entry into the United States. Additionally, it was requested that those representatives of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Customs Bureau who could testify as to the fact of the subjects re-entry into the United States be interviewed to insure their recollection and that photographs of the subjects be exhibited to them.

REC-21

L. Illian

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77111

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO

The Director

DATE:

1-13-66

FROM

ł

N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT ·

The Congressional Record

jst

> 62 - 1/19/7-1 100-123979 -NOT RECORDED

199 JAN 18 1966

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for /- /2 - 6/- was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portion following on the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case of subject matter files.

-1521-29

ORIGINAL FILD II

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

то

The Director

DATE. /-//- 66 -

FROM

N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT.

The Congressional Record

Dayes A21-A22. Congressman Fisher, (D) Texas, extended this remarks concerning the unauthorized trip to Eanol by three American citizens, Horbert Aptheber, Manghton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden, and pointed out that it has been reported by the press that the Justice Department is reviewing several laws that might be applicable to this manthorized trip. No stated Toes this conduct constitute a violation of our laws? That is the question the Justice Department is now trying to determine. If there is constitute for the projection of vidence of their guilt, then it would seem that they should be projected. --- Moreover, their travel in deliance of the law which requires them to clear the trip with the state Department would seem to

4%

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present an open-and-shut case against thom."

Per FOIA Request 2/ /263

62-1/19/1-100-123974-

NOT RECORDED 199 JAN 18 1966

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for /-/// was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Burganguese or subject matter files.

66-1731-

5-113 (1-10-61)

#### Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date \_\_\_\_1-16-66

Attached relates to public meeting Sunday at which Herbert Aptheker, Straughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden, who returned from "Peace Mission" to North Vietnam related their activities in Hanoi. Internal Security Division of Department has been furnished complete details and is considering prosecutive action under several statutes. Information regarding meeting is being furnished Internal Security Division and Department of State.

DTS TOTO

wcs/DT)

JAN 16 1200 ENCODED MESSAGE

7-00 PM URGENT 1-16-65 PJK
TO DIRECTOR 2 (100-103974)

TO DIRECTOR 2 /100-123974/

FROM NEW YORK /100-80532 /

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, STRAUGHTON LYND, THOMAS HAYDEN., UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIET NAM, MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT, LOGAN ACT, CONSPIRACY.

REBUAIRTEL TO NY JANUARY ELEVEN SIXTY-SIX.

SA PERSONNEL FBI ATTENDED PUBLIC MEETING IN MANHATTAN CENTER,
NEW YOU, CITY
NYC., HELD DURING AFTERNOON OF SUNDAY, JANUARY SIXTEEN, SIXTY-SIX.

AT THIS MEETING APTHEKER, LYND AND HAYDEN GAVE "EYE-WITNESS REPORT
FROM HANOI." THIS MEETING ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY THREE THOUSAND
PEOPLE. CHAIRMAN A.J.MUSTE INTRODUCED SPEAKERS AND STATED MEETING
HELD UNDER AUSPECIES OF THE FIFTH AVENUE PEACE PARADE COMMITTEE, NYC.

APTHEKER, LYND AND HAYDEN IN SPEECHES DESCRIBED THE LE TRIP TO NORTH VIETNAM. THEIR ITINERARY WAS PRAGUE, MOSCOW, PEKING AND AND ANAMOUSES THEY DESCRIBED EXPERIENCES IN NORTH VIETNAM AND INTERVIEWS WITH VARIOUS PEOPLE IN NORTH VIETNAM. ALL SPEAKERS WERE CRITICAL OF U.S.

POSITION IN NORTH VIETNAM. ONE POINT EMPHASIZED BY SPEAKERS, BASED ON INTERVIEWS WITH GOVERNMENT PEOPLE WAS THAT COMPLETE, WITHORAYAL OF U.S.

END PAGE ONE

END PAGE ONE

HAR CILCADII FOR THE BIRLINGA

5 CBR

PAGE TWO

FORCES FROM VIET NAM IS NOT A PRE-CONDITION FOR NEGOTIATIONS.,

HOWEVER EVENTUAL WITHDRAWAL IS DEMANDED AS WELL AS NO OCCUPATION BY UNITED STATES

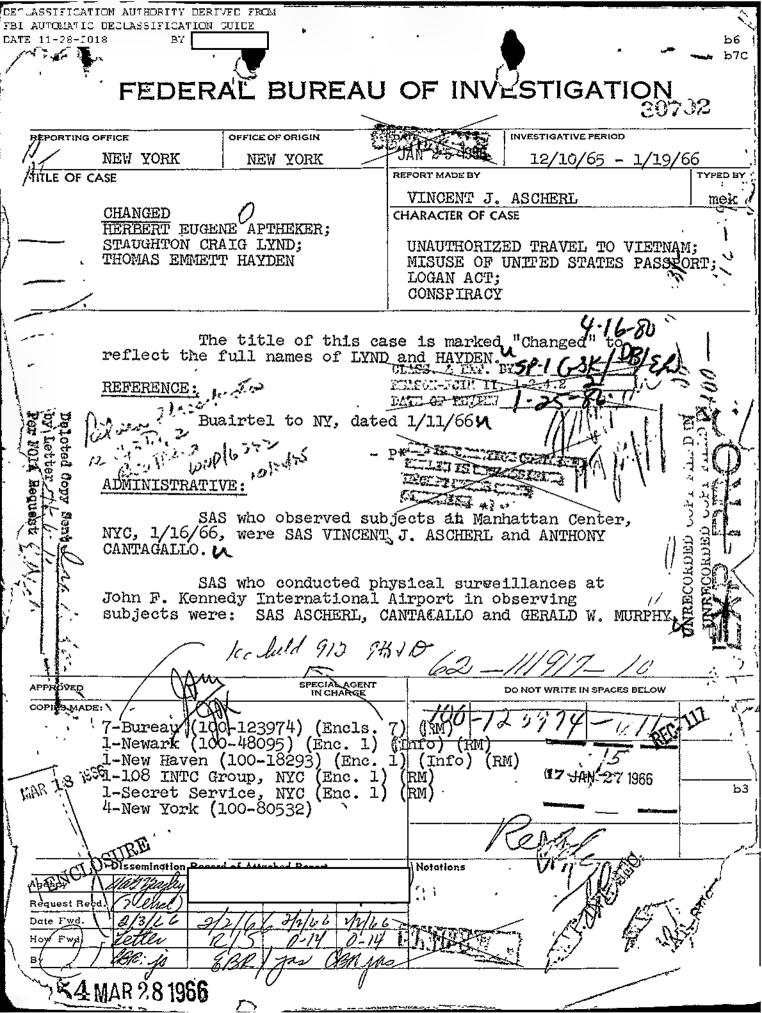
U.S. FORCES. MEETING TERMINATED APPROXIMATELY FIVE PM. DETAILS OF NEW YORK OFFICE.
MEETING WILL BE INCORPORATED IN REPORT BEING PREPARED BT NYO:

END:

WA. . MSE

FBI WS WASH DC

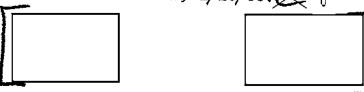
M. Hin Diese van



This report is classified "Confidential" to protect identities of informants MY T-1, MY T-2, MY T-3 and MY T-5. Unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by these informants might impair their future effectiveness and such impairment could have an adverse effect on the national defense.

Information copies are designated for Newark and New Haven since HAYDEN and LYND, respectively, are security subjects in those Divisions.

In addition to panel sources NY T-5 and NY T-6, the following security informants of the NYO attended a meeting at Manhattan Center, 1/16/66:



Several of these informants would have attended this meeting without any specific direction from the NYO. Their operation and activity within the Communist movement required this attendance as evidence of their interest and support. It was not considered essential to show this extensive coverage of the Manhattan Center meeting in the Details of instant report.

This case is being placed in a pending inactive status, awaiting any further instructions from the Department as to additional investigation they may wish conducted in this case.

### INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

NY T-1 CG 5824-S\*

NY T-2 NY 694-8\* File Number Where Located

IJ.

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- B -COVER PAGE Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-4

Tostant report

NY T-5

NY T-6

NY T-7

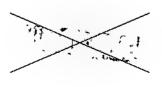
Instant report

LEADS:

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will await further instructions from Bureau as to any additional investigation requested by the Department in this case.

NEW YORK

- C\* -COVER PAGE



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# UN ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION T I A

1 - 108 INTC Group, 118 E. 16th St., NYC (RM)

1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM).

Copy to:

Report of:

VINCENT J. ASCHERL

1/25/66

Date:

Title:

100-80532

New York, New York

Office:

Bureau File #:

100-123974

Field Office File #:

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER;

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND;

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM:

MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT;

LOGAN ACT;

CONSPIRACY

CLASS. & EXT. B

REASON-FCIH II. DATE OF REVIEW

Synopsis:

Character:

HERBERT APTHEKER was invited, during the Summer, 1965, by the North Vietnam Government to visit Hanoi. He, in turn, suggested that LYND and HAYDEN accompany him. Passports of APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN not valid for travel to those portions of China and Vietnam under Communist control. Above individuals departed NYC, 12/19/65 for North Vietnam. Their tinerary was London, Prague, Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. They allegedly spend 10 days in North Vietnam and departed from there on 1/7/66. Their return itinerary was Peking, Moscow, Paris, New York. Subjects arrived JFK International Airport, Queens, NY, 1/9/66 at 6:50 p.m. They were processed through US INS and Customs. Five tape recordings and written material on the baggage of THOMAS HAYDEN were detained by US Customs for screening. At press interview, Kennedy Airport, 1/9/66, and at meeting Manhattan Center, NYC, 1/16/66, above subjects claimed to have interviewed certain Hanoi officials and also representatives of the Viet Cong during their tenday visit in North Vietnam.

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

GROUN Z

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declarsification

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#### **ENCLOSURES:**

Designated as enclosures for the Bureau, Bureau offices and other Government Agencies receiving copies of this report are sets of the seven statements detained from the baggage of THOMAS HAYDEN upon his arrival at John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, January 9, 1966. The number of sets designated for the Bureau, Newark and New Haven, and the other Government Agencies, corresponds with the number of copies of instant report designated for them. Accordingly, enclosures are forwarded as follows:

Bureau	`	7 Sets 1 Set	
Newark New Haven		1 Set	
108th INTC Group, New York City		1 Set	
Secret Service, New York City		1 Set	

The seven statements, referred to above, are listed in detail on page 25 of this report





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II.	PASSPORT DATA ON APTHEKER, LYND AND HAYDEN	4
III.	ITINERARY OF SUBJECTS	9
IV.	PROCESSING THROUGH IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE AND UNITED STATES CUSTOMS, JANUARY 9, 1966	15
v.	PRESS INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECTS, JANUARY 9, 1966, AND GOVERAGE OF ACTIVITIES IN NORTH VIETNAM	28
VI.	meeting at manhattan center, January 16, 1966	46
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DETAILS:

## I. BACKGROUND OF HANGE

HERBERT APTHEKER, while at the Helsinki Peace Conference in July, 1965, met North Vietnam Communist Party (CP) functionaries who invited him to visit North Vietnam.

NY T-1 December 13, 1965

On July 5, 1965, APTHEKER flew to Helsinki, Finland, as the Chief Delegate of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) to the peace conference, which was held in that city.

NY T-2 July 6, 1965

HERBERT APTHEKER, Director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), 20 East 30th Street, New York City, and Professor STAUGHTON LYND of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, were planning to leave the United States about December 18, 1965, for Prague, Czechoslovakia. They were to stay in Prague about two days and then proceed to Hanoi, North Vietnam.

AIMS is characterized in the appendix of this report. U

NY T-3 December 13, 1965

NY T-4 advised on December 18, 1965 that THOMAS HAYDEN would accompany APTHEKER and LYND on the above flights. 4

An article in the "New York Times",
January 10, 1966, page 1, entitled "Lynd, Back From
Hanoi Voices Optimism on Peace" stated that the
Government of North Vietnam had invited APTHEKER
to journey to North Vietnam and he, in:turn, had
suggested that LYND and HAYDEN accompany him.

An article in the "Long Island Press", December 28, 1965, pages 1 and 2, reported an interview with Mrs. LYND, wile-of STAUGHTON LYND, in which she stated that her husband had left this statement before he departed for North Vietnam on December 19, 1965:

"We are leaving tonight on a fact-finding trip to made contact with representatives of the FLN (Viet Cong) and the government of North Viet Nam. The invitation came to us through Dr. Herbert Aptheker, who during a conference in Helsinki last summer was invited to come to North Viet Nam, bringing with him one or two persons with political viewpoints different from his own."

## II. PASSPORT DATA

#### A. HERBERT APTHEKER

File maintained for HERBERT APTHEKER at Passport Office, United States Department of State, was reviewed on July 17, 1964, and contained the following:



#### NY 100~80532



Passport E681400 was issued to HERBERT APTHEKER on July 10, 1964. Passport not valid for travel to Albania, Cuba, and those portions of China, Korea, and Vietnam under Communist control. Passport will expire on July 9, 1967, and may be renewed for two years.

Application for passport was dated June 26, 1964, at New York, New York, and contained following as indicated by HERBERT APTHEKER:

He indicated he was last married on September 4, 1942, to FAY P. APTHEKER, born on February 28, 1905, at New York, New York. U

> Date of Birth Place of Birth Residence

Parents

July 31, 1915 Brooklyn, New York 32 Ludlam Place Brooklyn 25, New York

Father Fauner APTHEKER born Russian '

(United States citizen) Mother REBECCA KOWAR 1711-1-12 11.9

born Russian (United States citizen)

Person to be Notified In Event of Death or

Accident

MR - HORISONT EUGENE/ApThi For Mrs. FAY P

wife, 32\_Ludlam\_Place

BORN Jet/1955 32 Ludlam Place
Brooklyn, New York of Nout 400 ( ) 11

Description: Height Hair Eyes Marks and Scars Occupation

51 10" Gray-brown Green None Author

HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at its 17th National Convention, held in December, 1959.

NY T-5 December 19, 1959

#### B. STAUGHTON LYND

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, reviewed by a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on December 29, 1965, disclosed that STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND was issued Passport Number at Boston, Massachusetts, on December 8, 1965, for proposed travel for "Christmas vacation two weeks" to "Europe (itinerary not yet definite)" to "see friends." his application, dated December 6, 1965, at New Haven, Connecticut, he stated his intention to depart from New York City by "airline (not sure which line)" about December 20, 1965, not by organized tour. He stated that he did not know whether he would be taking another trip abboad. This passport was valid for three years travel to all countries except Albania, Cuba and those portions of China, Korea and Vietnam under Communist control.

This individual stated that he was born on and his file reflects that his birth certificate has been seen by passport authorities. He gave his permanent residence as He listed his father as ROBERT S. LYND, born at New Albany, Indiana, on September 26, 1892, and his mother as HELEN MERVELL, born at La Grange, Illinois, on March 17, 1896. He stated that he was last married on June 12, 1951, to ALICE LEE NILES, born at and indicated that this marriage had not been terminated. In the event of death or accident, he requested that his wife be notified at the home address.

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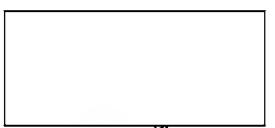
ь6 ь7с

The following description appeared in his

file: (

Height Hair Eyes Marks

Occupation



The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

STAUGHTON LYND further advised at. this interview that while at Harvard University he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 to 1948. He stated that for approximately one year during that period he had served as Secretary of the John Reed Club.





John Reed Clubs of the United States are characterized in the appendix of this report.

#### C. THOMAS HAYDEN

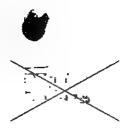
The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, reviewed by an SA of the FBI, on December 29, 1965, disclosed the additional information that THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN was last issued Passport F-1027114 at New York City on December 16, 1965, for proposed travel for one month to Belgium, England and France for the purpose of writing. In his application, dated December 14, 1965, at New York City, he stated his intention to depart from New York City via Sabena Airlines about December 17, 1965, not by organized tour. He stated that he had not made any trips abroad in the previous twelve months and that he expected to take another trip abroad within the next five years. This passport was limited in validity to expire on June 15, 1966, and stamped that it was not to be extended without the express authorization of the Department of State. This passport was valid for travel to all countries except Albania, Cuba and those portions of China, Korea and Vietnam under W Communist control.

Mr. HAYDEN, who stated that he was born on December 11, 1939, at Detroit, Michigan, gave his permanent residence as 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, and arranged to pick up his passport in New York City. He indicated that his marriage on October 1, 1961, to SANDRA CASON HAYDEN had been terminated by divorce on April 1, 1963. In the event of death or accident, he requested that CONNIE BROWN, a friend, be notified at

that he identified himself with New Jersey driver's license HO 954-74065-12392, dated December 30, 1964.

SEMI

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The following description of HAYDEN appeared in his passport file:

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b7D

Height Hair Eyes Occupation 5'10"
Black
Brown
Community Organization
specialist

#### III. ITINERARY OF SUBJECTS

Sabena Sitv. furnish

Airlines, 720 Fifth Avenue, New York City, furnished the following information on December 15, 1965:

HERBERT APTHEKER of Brooklyn, New York, and STAUGHTON LYND, had reservations on Sabena Flight 540 to leave John F. Kennedy (JFK) International Airport, Queens, New York, December 19, 1965, at 8:30 p.m., en route Brussels, Belgium. At Brussels they were to take a connecting flight OK536, on December 20, 1965, en route to Prague, Czechoslovakia.

APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN were observed by SA personnel, FBI, departing JFK Airport on Air India, Flight 116, at 9:00 p.m., December 19, 1965, en route to London, England. They were originally scheduled to depart on Sabena Flight 548 at 8:30 p.m. However, this flight was cancelled at the last hour and the trio was observed leaving Sabena Airlines Terminal at 8:00 p.m. They walked to the Air India Terminal, which is immediately adjacent to the Sabena Terminal. They booked passage on Air India Flight 116 and departed the United States at 9:00 p.m.

1/3/66 Natr

b7D

India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, on December 19, 1965, furnished the following information:

U

He examined United States Passport E 681400 which was presented to him by HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, 32 Ludlam Place, Brooklyn, New York, on December 19, 1965, prior to the latter's departure on Air India Flight 116, which departed John F. Kennedy International Airport on December 19, 1965, at 9:00 p.m.

HERBERT APTHEKER departed on this flight and was to arrive in London, England at 8:30 a.m., London time, December 29, 1965. HERBERT APTHEKER had a connecting flight on British European Airlines departing London at 11:00 a.m., December 20, 1965, en route Prague, Czechoslovakia.

John F. Kennedy
International Airport

On 12/19/65 at File # NY 100-80532

SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL/jth:mek

by Date dictated

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b7D

·	Date
	Atia

India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, on December 19, 1965, furnished the following information:

He examined United States Passport Number F1027114, which was presented to him by THOMAS E. HAYDEN, 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, on December 19, 1965, prior to the latter's departure on Air India Flight 116 which left John F. Kennedy International Airport on December 19, 1965, at THOMAS HAYDEN departed on this flight and was due to arrive in London, England at 8:30 a.m., London time, on December 20, 1965. HAYDEN had a connecting flight on British European Airways (BEA) departing London, England at 11:00 a.m. December 20, 1965, en route Prague, Czechoslovakia. exhibited the Immigration and Naturalization

Form 1-94 which reflected the Passport number and residence for THOMAS HAYDEN as shown above.

W

John F. Kennedy International Airport 12/19/65 File#

NY 100-110521

SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL/jth:mek

by

12/27/65

Date dictated

On

bу



1/3/66 Date

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Da	ate	
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	Air	
India, John F. Kennedy International Airport	, Queens	g and any one
New York, on December 19, 1965, furnished the	3 LOTTOM	urug
information:		认
He examined the United States Pass	port	
Number which was presented to him or	<del>n                                    </del>	
December 19, 1965, by STAUGHTON C. LYND,	7 - 2 2 - 2 - 2 - 3	1 _
prior to the	Tarrer	'8
departure on Air India Flight 116, which dep	artea	3
John F. Kennedy International Airport on Dec	emper 13	7,
1965, at 9:00 p.m. STAUGHTON LYND departed	on this	
flight and was due to arrive in London, Engl	and at	<b>a</b>
8:30 a.m., London time, December 20, 1965.	TAMD use	4
a connecting flight on British European Airwa	ys	
departing London at 11:00 a.m., December 20,	1905,	i.k
en route Prague, Czechoslovakia.		₽ <b>0</b>
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John F. Kennedy	The same of the sa	MAL
	NY	100-110521
12/19/65 International Airport		
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SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL/jth:mek - 12 -		111 -2
Date d	ictated	·

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NY 100-80532

An article in the "New York World Telegram and Sun", dated December 29, 1965, page 3, entitled "Professor Lynd in Hanoi, Wife Believes,", reflected the following pertinent information concerning the itinerary of subjects;

The article is date-lined New Haven, Connecticut, December 29, 1965, and quotes Mrs. STAUGHTON LYND stating that her husband presumably already arrived (as of December 29, 1965) in Hanoi, North Vietnam. She received a communication from him, sent December 22, 1965, from Prague, Czechoslovakia. In the letter, LYND informed his wife that he hoped to arrive in Peking, China, December 23, 1965 and then go directly to Hanoi. Mrs. LYND said her husband and the other two were well aware they could be prosecuted by federal authorities for making the trip without the approval of the State Department.

The article further related that according to JOHN MC DERMOTT, Associate Editor of the magazine "Viet Report", STAUGHTON LYND went to Hanoi as a correspondent for "Vietr : Report" in an attempt to clarify peace proposals which have been stated by the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) over the last few months.

"Viet. Report" is characterized in the appendix of this report.

An article in the "New York Times", January 1, 1966, page 3, entitled "United States Leftist in Hanoi Says Lull-In Raids Produces No Reaction" quotes STAUGHTON LYND as stating there had been no significant reaction in Hanoi to the halt of United States air raids in North Vietnam. The article related that LYND, APTHEKER and HAYDEN had arrived in Hanoi, Tuesday, December 28, 1965, by way of Moscow and Peking.

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According to a news broadcast on radio station WINS (New York), 6:00 p.m., January 5, 1966, THOMAS HAYDEN is quoted as stating from Hanoi that he and APTHEKER and LYND had met with the "proper people" and would be leaving Hanoi on Friday, January 7, 1966.

An article in the "New York Times", January 9, 1966, page 1, entitled "Lynd Sæys Hanoi Denies Cetting a Direct United States Bid" related that LYND, APTHEKER and HAYDEN arrived in Moscow, January 8, 1966, on return from Hanoi. They spoke with newsmen at Moscow Airport.

SA personnel, FBI, on January 9, 1966, observed APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN arrive at JFK International Airport, Queens, New York, aboard Pan American Flight 119 at 6:50 p.m. They were processed through United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and United States Customs at the airport.

APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN were met at the airport by a group of young people wearing buttons which identified these young people with the W.E.B. Du Bois Club. APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the airport at approximately 8:15 p.m.

The W.E.B. Du Bois Club is characterized in the appendix of this report.

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IV. PROCESSING THROUGH UNITED STATES INS AND UNITED STATES CUSTOMS



1/17/66



The processing of HERBERT APTHEKER, STAUGHTON C. LYND and THOMAS E. HAYDEN, through Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and United States Customs at John F. Kennedy International Airport on January 9, 1966, was observed by Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). These individuals arrived at Kennedy International Airport, aboard Pan American Flight 119 at 6:50 PM, January 9, 1966. A cordon of four police officers attached to the Port Authority Police, escorted APTHEKER, LYNpand HAYDEN to the INS station. STAUGHTON LYND in the fore-front of the group was observed presenting his passport for inspection to Immigration Inspector, DOUGLAS FARRELL. APTHEKER and LYND were also duly processed by INS K Inspector FARRELL.

From the INS station they proceeded immediately to United States Custom's inspection station at the airport where their baggage was checked by Customs Inspector GOLDBERG, Badge number and KLEIN, Badge number

APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN departed the restricted area of the International Arrivals Building at approximately 7:45 PM.

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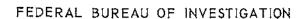
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date \_\_\_\_\_\_

While at the Pan American Airlines International Terminal, Kennedy International Airport, at the Immigration Office, it was observed at 7:10 PM that Mr. STAUGHTON LYND, THOMAS HAYDEN and HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, were all checking in at the Control Booth of the Immigration and Naturalization Office. These three men had deplaned from Pan American flight number 119. After checking through Immigration, these three men proceeded to Customs check-in counter number three, and at 7:14 PM started to be processed by the United States Customs Officer. At 7:45 PM it was observed that these three men left the restricted area of the Customs check-in and went out into the public lobby area of the terminal.

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1/9/66 New York City	
Onat	File #
SA GERALD W. MURPHY/iah	1/10/66
by	- 17Date dictated

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On January 9, 1966, at approximately 7:10 p. m., Special Agent A. J. Cantagallo, Jr., observed THOMAS E. HAYDEN, HERBERT APTHEKER, and STAUGHTON C. LYND going through Immigration and Naturalization Service processing area, Kennedy Airport, New York City. Mr. DOUGLAS FARRELL, Immigration and Naturalization Service, New York City, processed the above-three individuals through Immigration.

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On <u>1/9/66</u>	at New York, New York	File#File#
SA A. J.	CANTAGALLO, Jr./1tr	1/11/66
by	- 18 -	Date dictated

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On January 9, 1966, approximately 7:20 p. m., DOUGLAS FARRELL, Supervisor, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Kennedy Airport, New York City, made available Immigration and Naturalization Service Form I-94. This form was filled out by HERBERT APTHEKER upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport on Pan Am Flight 119 from Paris, France. The following information was on the form: V

Name:

Citizenship:

United States Address:

Arrival:

HERBERT APTHEKER

American

32 Ludlam Place, Brooklyn,

New York

Arrived in the United States

On Pan Am Flight 119. Boarded plane at Paris,

France A

Mr. FARRELL processed APTHEKER through Immigration and Naturalization Service upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport.

On	1/9/66	Kennedy Airport, at New York, New Yo	rk	100-80532
bу.	SA A. J.	CANTAGALLO, Jr./ltr	- 19 -	1/1.2/66  Date dictated

1/12/66	-
Date	

On January 9, 1966, at approximately 7:20 p. m., DOUGLAS FARRELL, Supervisor, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Kennedy Airport, New York City, made available Immigration and Naturalization Form I-94. This form was filled out by THOMAS E. HAYDEN upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport, New York City on Pan Am Flight 119 from Paris, The following information was on the form: France.

Name:

THOMAS E. HAYDEN

Citizenship:

United States

United States Address:

227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark,

New Jersey

Arrival:

Arrived in the United States

on Pan Am Flight 119 from

Paris, France

Date of Birth: Place of Birth: December 11, 1939

Detroit, Michigan

Mr. FARRELL processed HAYDEN through Immigration and Naturalization Service upon his arrival at Kennedy 11 Airport.

1/9/66	JFK Airport New York, New Yo	ork	100-80532
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On January 9, 1966, at approximately 7:20 p. m., DOUGLAS FARRELL, Supervisor, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Kennedy Airport, New York City, made available Immigration and Naturalization Service Form I-94. This form was filled out by STAUGHTON C. LYND upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport on Pan Am Flight 119 from Paris, France. The following information was on this form.

Name: Citizenship: Passport or Alien Registration Number: United States Address: STAUGHTON C. LYND United States

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Arrival:

Arrived in the United States on Pan Am Flight 119. LYND boarded this plane at Paris, France

Mr. FARRELL processed LYND through Immigration and Naturalization Service upon his arrival at Kennedy Airport

On 1/9/66 JFK Airport
New York, New York

- 21 
by SA A. J. CANTAGALLO, Jr./ltr
Date dictated

JFK Airport
File #100-80532

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Captain JOSEPH ROONEY, Staff Officer, United States Customs, John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) International Airport, Queens, New York, furnished the following information:

HERBERT APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND, and THOMAS HAYDEN were processed through United States Customs 1/9/66 at JFK International Airport, Queens, New York, They arrived aboard Pan American Flight 119 at 6:50 PM. Their Custom's declarations reflected their names and addresses as follows:

THOMAS E. HAYDEN
227 Jelliff
Newark, New Jersey
United States resident

STAUGHTON C. LYND

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United States resident \*

HERBERT APTHEKER
32 Ludlam Place
Brooklyn, New York
United States resident

The custom's declaration on THOMAS HAYDEN reflected that certain material as follows in his baggage was detained by Customs for screening:

- 1. Certain typewritten or printed statements.
- 2. Five tape recordings.

your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

3. Two books by HO CHI MINH.

1/9/66	JFK International Airport Queens, NY	NY 10	0-80532 <b>SECRET</b>
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Mrs. EVAKLEIN, Badge Number Inspector, United States Customs, John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) International Airport, Queens, New York, furnished the following information:

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On January 9, 1966, at 7:15 PM, she processed THOMAS E. HAYDEN, 227 Jelliff Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, through the United States Customs at the airport. He arrived on Pan American Flight 119 from Europe. As part of her official duties she checked his baggage and retained the following items from his baggage for a determination by Customs as to their possible subversive character:

- 1. Certain statements protesting the United States Policies in Vietnam.
- 2. Two books by HO CHI MINH, Volumes three and four.
- 3. Five tape recordings.

belongings.

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/13/66

	Mr.	SEYMOUR G	OLDBEF	RG, C	ustoms	Inspecto	r,	a
Badge	37. 24. 3. 4. 40	0.4046	ad that	t he w	was on	quey on	gandary	フェ
1966,	when Mr.	STAUGHTON	LYND	came	turougn	, Cap comb	a, 0 0110	Ŋ
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He had no conversation with Mr. LYND other than to request him to orally declare anything which he was bringing into the United States. Mr. LYND replied that he had a Czechoslovakian typewriter which he valued at \$70.00 and a doll which he valued at \$3.00. Mr. GOLDBERG stated that he completed the Customs form which was not signed by Mr. LYND and that concluded his conversation with him. Mr. GOLDBERG examined the baggage of Mr. LYND and observed these two items and found nothing else other than personal (A)

Mr. GOLDBERG stated that he did not have any conversation with nor did he examine the baggage of Mr. LYND's other travelling companions, Mr. HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER or THOMAS HAYDEN.

Mr. GOLDBERG stated that he would be willing to testify and stated he had made no independent notes concerning the occurrence.

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Miss ELEANOR SUSKE, Supervisory Administrative Aide, Division of Import Controls, United States Customs-House, New York City, furnished the following information:

Miss SUSKE on January 11, 1966, made available for review by Special Agent personnel, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the following material which was contained in the baggage of THOMAS E. HAYDEN, upon his arrival at John Fitzgerald Kennedy International Airport (JFK), Queens, New York, January 9, 1966:

- 1. Five tape recordings.
- 2. Seven typewritten or printed statements.
- 3. Two paper-back books.

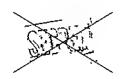
Miss SUSKE stated that the five tape recordings listed above were apparently exposed in the United States and covered civil rights demonstrations, picket lines, speeches by civil rights workers and interviews with civil rights demonstrators. Miss SUSKE advised that the seven statements apparently were made in North Vietnam. and were critical of United States foreign policy in Vietnam. The seven statements referred to are identified by title as follows:

"1. By the Democratic Republic of Vietnam State Committee of Science and Technology on the Use of Toxic Chemicals and Poison Gas by the Aggressive US Imperialists in South Vietnam.

Hanoi 10/20/65

On	United States Bowling Green,		House	NY 10058053	32
by	D. BRODY;arf	<u>- 25 -</u>	Date dic	1/1' /	/gline

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"2. By the Meteorological Department of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Regarding the Criminal US Air Raids on D.R.V. Meteorological Stations and Observatories."

#### Hanoi 11/29/65

"3. By the Red Cross Society of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam regarding the savage crimes of the US Government and its trampling upon the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of the Victims of war.

## 9/27/65

"4. Of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Ministry of Public Health on the US bombings of medical establishments.

## Hanoi 7/15/65

"5. To the Evangelical Christians and ministers of all creeds in the USA.

## Hanoi 12/23/65

"6. By the Ministry of Water Conservancy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

## Hanoi 9/15/65

37. By the Ministry of Education of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam regarding the US imperialists crimes in air raiding educational institutions and massacring teachers and students.

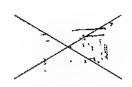
## 10/12/65"



The two paperback. books referred to above were entitled "HO CHI MINH Selected Works III" and "HO CHI MINH Selected Works IV" consisting of 445 pages and 468 pages respectively and both published by Hanoi Foreign Languages Publishing House in 1961 and 1962.



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V. PRESS INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECTS, JANUARY 9, 1966, AND COVERAGE OF ACTIVITIES IN NORTH VIETNAM



1/13/66

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Mr. MILTON A. CAINE, Information Officer, The Port of New York Authority, stated that it is his duty to make arrangements for the press and photographers to meet any personalities arriving at John F. Kennedy International Airport whom they desire to interview or photograph.

He stated that on January 9, 1966, he was advised by the press that they would like to interview Mr. STAUGHTON LYND, Mr. HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, and Mr. THOMAS HAYDEN, upon their arrival at John F. Kennedy Airport. He requested a representative of Pan American, whose identity he does not know, to point out Mr. LYND to him. He then approached Mr. LYND and asked him if he desired to make a statement to the press. The latter responded in the affirmative and Mr. CAINE made arrangements for a press conference room to be prepared.

He stated that Mr. LYND then told the assembled representatives of the press and radio and television that he had a prepared statement, which he then gave to the various representatives. Mr. LYND and Mr. HAYDEN both read portions of this press release and made no divergence from the prepared text according to Mr. CAINE's belief. On several occasions during the reading of the press release, Mr. LYND indicated that certain portions were important but Mr. CAINE did not recall which particular items Mr. LYND had emphasized.

Mr. CAINE stated that he was busy in his duties of making arrangements for the press and paid little attention to the contents of the press release. He stated that he was not present at the time when Mr. APTHEKER Uspoke.

Mr. CAINE stated that he had no further conversation with Mr. LYND than that previously referred to.

On	1/11/66	JFK International	Airport,		NY 100-80532
bу	SA BERNARD G SA WILLIAM A	. HARRINGTON and . DATZ/cjs	- 29 -	Date dictated .	1/13/66

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Mr. CAINE stated that he would be willing to testify and stated further that he had made no notes concerning the occurrence.

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Mr. ALBERT P. CARMICHAEL, Reporter, Associated Press, stated that he was on duty on January 9, 1966, and was present for the press conference granted by HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER. STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN.

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He stated that the press conference began with the reading of a press release by Mr. STAUGHTON LYND and Mr. THOMAS HAYDEN. He stated that it was his belief that they did not deviate from the prepared text other than that Mr. LYND read an excerpt from the release for the television representatives.

Following the reading of the press release, Mr. LYND stated that it was not his desire to answer any questions since his replies might be misrepresented.

Mr. HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER then had a separate press release, copies of which were not given to the press or to the representatives of television. In view of the fact that no press release was given by Mr. APTHEKER to these media, Mr. CARMICHAEL then took notes which he has retained.

He stated that it was a lengthy statement in which Mr. APTHEKER stated that President JOHNSON's policy was bringing death to Americans in Vietnam and devastation to that country, and he desired a reversal of that policy. Mr. APTHEKER stated further that it was nightmarish that certain United States Senators were calling for the bombing of Hanoi and millions of women and children. He stated further that it was monstrous that comedians referred to the bombing of North Vietnam as "slum clearance." Mr. CARMICHAEL believed that Mr. APTHEKER was referring to certain comments made by comedian BOB MOPE while the latter was in Vietnam during the Christmas holidays.

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Mr. APTHEKER then discussed the four points of the National Liberation Front which Mr. CARMICHAEL termed the political arm of the Viet Cong. He pointed out that these points had modified the position of the Viet Cong and he believed that if the United States went along with the Geneva Agreement and implemented it, it would be the end of the war in Vietnam.

Mr. CARMICHAEL approached Mr. APTHEKER and asked him if he had a copy of this press release and Mr. APTHEKER replied in the negative. He stated he only had one copy which he gave to an unknown individual and he stated that it would be subsequently printed.

Mr. CARMICHAEL stated that he did not desire to testify because it would jeopardize his position as a reporter for Associated Press in any subsequent news gathering.



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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RASA GUSTAITIS, Reporter, New York Herald Tribune, 230 West 41st Street, New York, New York, advised as follows:

On January 9, 1966, she attended a press conference held by HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN at Kennedy International Airport, New York, New York. LYND and HAYDEN read a prepared statement and then APTHEKER advised that he agreed in general with their statement and presented his own statement.

The three men advised that during their 10 day visit, they spoke to Hanoi officials and Viet Cong representatives. They also on several occasions referred to their visit to Viet Nam during the press conference.

Mr. APTHEKER stated that he was approached by a North Vietnamese delegate at the Helsinki Peace Congress in 1965. He said he was asked to visit the country and bring non-communists with him. He added that he invited Professor LYND and Mr. HAYDEN.

RASA GUSTAITIS advised that she would be willing to testify.

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Mr. HENRY G. TOGEMAN was contacted at 2811 Bridge	a /
Plaza North, New York City (NYC), by Special Agent (SA) MURPHY, at which time the identity of Agent MURPHY was made	đa
MURPHY, at which time the identity of Agent MURPHY was made	76
known to Mr. IOTHWAN Mr. IOTHWAN stated his home address telephone	
was and could be contacted at his place	
of employment at He stated that he is a repor	<u>ter</u>
for the "United Press International" and sometimes is at the	he
vonnedy dinnont telephone 656-7204. He stated that on	
Sunday, January 9, 1966, he was working in the capacity	
of a reporter for "United Press International" and was at	
the John F. Kennedy International Airport, Pan American Building, to cover the arrival of Mr. STAUGHTON LYND, Mr.	,
THOMAS HAYDEN and Mr. HERBERT APTHEKER.	Ð
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He stated his first contact was made inside the conference room at the Pan American Building and was there for about an hour, during which time Mr. LYND opened a press conference identifying himself, Mr. HAYDEN and Mr. APTHEKER, announcing that his typed statement would be handed out and that he would read from this statement. Mr. LYND stated this statement was "subcribed to by Hayden". Mr. LYND said that Mr. APTHEKER had his own statement, which was self-prepared.

Mr.LOGEMAN said HAYDEN then read about a page and a half of this statement and HAYDEN made no departure from this script. Mr. IOGEMAN advised he asked HAYDEN how they had been treated by Customs and LYND replied "It seemed to be routine". Mr.IOGEMAN asked if they expected any action taken later against them, to which LYND said "As to the future, I don't know". Mr.IOGEMAN stated that the "Herald Tribune"female reporter asked HAYDEN what Customs had taken from him. HAYDEN said "Mimeo papers reporting what a group of Vietnam people reported on actions of the US men in Vietnam". HAYDEN also said five tape recordings were taken "contents unknown". Mr.LOGEMAN said he was not sure if HAYDEN meant that Customs did not know what the contents were, or that he, Mr. HAYDEN, did not know the

On _	1/11/66 at	New York,	New York		Y 100-80532
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by	SA GERALD W.	MURPHY/Jv	_ 34 -	_Date dictated	

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that volumes three and four of either "The Works" or "Life of Ho Chi Minh" were also taken. LYND was asked if he was more or less optimistic if a settlement could be had. LYND said "more". He stated that after HAYDEN read the first page and a half of the prepared statement, LYND read from thereon.

He stated another person who was present at this press conference was the female CAROL BRIGHTMAN, who said she was the Editor of "Viet Report". She said she was from New York, but a native of Winnetka, Illinois; also, one other representative of "Viet Report" was there. Mr. LOGEMAN said that ERICHTMAN stated Mr. LYND was acting as a correspondent of the magazine "Viet Report", but they did not finance the trip. He said Mrs. LYND was there and that she said the money was gotten up by friends of Mr. LYND to pay for this trip. He also advised that the "Herald Tribune" female reporter was present, as was the "Associated Press" reporter; Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT LYND, Mrs. APTHEKER and about fifty young people, none of whom claimed to be any group leaders, but just claimed to be friends of these three returning men. Mr. LOGEMAN further stated that LYND had commented he did not intend to answer any questions, but would only read the released press statement and that Mr. APTHEKER would not release a typed statement for the general reader and little interest was shown to what he said.

He stated that he would be willing to testify if required to, but he would prefer prior to being requested to testify, that his boss Mr. EUGENE HEGARTY of the "United Press International", be so advised.



### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Mr. HENRY LOGEMAN of provided a seven page typewritten carbon copy statement which is headed "FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, Hayden and Lynd, January 9". This seven page statement, according to Mr. LOGEMAN, was secured by him on Sunday, January 9, 1966, while he was at the John F. Kennedy International Airport, Pan American Building, at which time Mr. STAUGHTON LYND, Mr. THOMAS HAYDEN and Mr. HERBERT APTHEKER had a press conference He stated this seven page statement is the same statement that he had reference to when he spoke to Agent MURPHY earlier this same day. He stated that on the bottom of page seven of this statement provided to him by Mr. LYND he, Mr. LOGEMAN, had made some notes which he said he wrote in pencil and which he described as follows:

The first line that he wrote in pencil is "Hayden and Lynd said they were non-Communist, 'we' worked closely with Aptheker". He stated the second line he wrote in pencil is; "If Communist and non-Communist countries can work together for peace-then Communist and non-Communist individuals must do so". He stated this was a statement made by Mr. LYND at the press conference on January 9, 1966. He stated the third line again was quoting Mr. LYND and it says "Aptheker was a positive asset to the visit". He stated the fourth line he cannot read and does not know what he wrote. stated the portion in brackets concerns four points mentioned in text of a copy of "Viet Report" shown to LOGEMAN by a reporter for "Viet Report".

Mr. LOGEMAN stated that each of the seven pages of the press release has been initialed and dated January 11, 1966, by him. He stated this press release given to him by Mr. LYND is the substance of the press release given by Mr. LYND and Mr. HAYDEN at the John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, January 9, 1966.

This seven page statement is copied as follows:

0n 1/11/66 at	NY 100-80532
by SA HERBERT P. LARSON/JV	_Date dictated
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"FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Hayden and Lynd Jaluary '9

.."HAYDEN: 33

"Our fact-finding effort took us first to Prague,
Moscow and Peking, where we interviewed representatives of the
National Liberation Front, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
and the Soviet and Chinese Peace Committees. Thus when we
arrived in Hanoi on December 28 we felt we had a tentative
understanding of the NLF and DRV positions.

"During our ten days in North Vietnam we talked with many persons in many walks of life. These included Premier Pham Van Dong; Mr. Hoang Quoc Viet, who is head of the countrys trade unions and also holds a position in the government corresponding to that of Attorney General in the United States; Colonel Ha Van Lau, liaison officer of the DRV to the International Control Commission, officials of the Fatherland Front, the Workers Party, the Democratic Party, and the Socialist Party; leaders of the Buddhist and Catholic faiths and of womens organizations; student and youth leaders; and members of our host group, the North Vietnam Peace Committee. We talked with soldiers from the NLF army who were visiting the North. We met also with many ordinary people in Hanoi, in the countryside, and in Nam Dinh, a city which has been bombed and strafed by American planes.

"We asked permission to speak with an American prisoner so as to inquire into the treatment they receive and to ask if they had grievances which we could report to both Vietnamese and American authorities. On the evening of January 3 we were allowed to speak for one hour with a captured American pilot, with his agreement. At his wish, in response to our suggestion, we will write to his family to tell them of our talk with him.

"We intend not to identify this man lest in any way he suffer reprisals because of publicity. Our talk with him ranged from the World Series to the history of Vietnam, but centered on the question of his treatment as a prisoner. He said that his life was no bed of roses but that his treatment was adequate and better than he had expected. He is, so he said, adequately clothed and fed, and mentioned in particular a turkey dinner at Christmas time. He told us that he showers every other day. He has been allowed to write one letter to his family, and hopes soon to be able to write one letter each month. He said his captors for the most part left him by himself. The only reading matter provided is the Vietnam Courier, an English-language newspaper written from the

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"standpoint of the DRV government. He is also permitted to listen to the English-language broadcasts of radio Hanoi. We received the impression that he was in a room by himself but could communicate with other American prisoners. For the said he and they all prayed for peace.

"Vietnamese officers were present throughout the conversation which naturally imposed restraint on all four Americans. We came away deeply moved by the poise and courage our fellow-citizen displayed in this difficult situation. His treatment so far as we could determine was adequate and humane.

"On December 30 we submitted to the DRV government, through the Peace Committee, a list of those questions about the positions of the NLF and the DRV which seemed to us most often asked in the United States. On January 5 we received written answers to these questions from Premier Pham Van Dong, and spoke with the Premier for 90 minutes.

"Mr. Staughton Lynd and I prepared a report of our findings for you, which he will read on behalf of both of us, but before that I would like to depart from my neutrality as a fact-finder to say one thing to you. While we were away, there was a pause in the bombing of North Vietnam, but one more civil rights worker was murdered in the American South. I consider myself a member of the same generation and movement as this dead young man. We know that terror still is used against the Negroes and the poor of our country; more than any other fact I found on my journey, this makes me fearful about the kind of freedom and protection the United States is bringing the poor people of Vietnam.

#### "LYND:

"Mr. Hayden and I wish first to explain why we will limit our comments this evening to the written statement I am about to read, rather than answering questions. Having in mind the experience of the Italian professors whose words as quoted in the press were repudiated by Hanoi, we fear the possibility of unintentional distortion which could lessen the usefulness of the report we have brought back from Vietnam.

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"For example, it would be a distortion to say or imply that we return with a dramatic concession of an explicit peace feeler. We feel we do bring back with us significant clarifications of the NLF and DRV attitudes toward some of the more controversial among President Johnsons 14 points. We ask the cooperation of the press, in the interest of the concern for accuracy and responsibility which you share with us, to report our statements in this regard as clarifications

"The first half of the remainder of our statement will deal with the pause in bombing and the reaction of DRV to that pause. Then we will return to some of the specific points at issue between the United States on the one hand, and the NLF and DRV on the other.

"Among the significant North Vietnamese commentaries on what is termed in Hanoi the United States peace offensive, have been a statement by the Voice of Vietnam radio on Dec. 30, authoritative articles in Nhan Dan for Dec. 31 and Jan 3, and the statement by the DRV Foreign Ministry on Jan. 4. We also discussed the new American initiatives with many persons, among them Premier Pham Van Dong in our interview with him on Jan. 5.

"We think that as seen from Hanoi there is a deep inconsistency in United States policy between a peacoful posture looking toward a negotiated settlement, and an interventionist posture which has in view the permanent partition of Vietnam and an expanded war. This two-sidedness makes United States policy seem hypocritical and suspect to the Vietnamese, who hear overtures of peace but also pledges to stay in Vietnam, V who know of the pause in bombing but also observe a daily military build-up in the South.

"For those to whom we talked in Vietnam, the record of events in recent weeks proves clearly the continuing inconsistency of American policy. American ambassadors have gone all over the world to 'knock on any door' seeking peace. But Premier Pham Van Dong, in response to our questions, stated unequivocally that the United States government had not made



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"contact with the government of the DRV, either at Hanoi or through DRV ambassadors in other capitals, since President Johnson spoke of knocking on any door Dec. 20. We assume that the United States, in keeping with previous policy, has not sought to make contact with NLF representatives either. To those with whom we spoke in Vietnam, it appears that the United States knocks on all doors except the doors of those whom it is fighting. They wonder if the United States is searching for peace or mainly attempting to soften its image before negative public opinion abroad and at home.

"To be sure, there is now a pause in the bombing of North Vietnam. But the Vietnamese remind that the last pause was followed immediately by expansion of the war. During the current pause, while the United States has waited for a socalled signal from Hanoi, Vietnamese sources have emphasized that President Johnsons words are accompanied by escalation in the South. According to these sources, the day after President Johnson spoke of knocking on any door the Department of Defense admitted the widespread use of toxic chemicals and authorized 'hot pursuit' by American troops into Cambodia. A week later, when President Johnson announced his 14 points, 4000 new American troops of the 25th division arrived at Hanoi sources also point to the arrival in Saigon between Dec. 21 and Jan. 1 of the Chief of Staff of the United States Army, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of the Army, and the Secretary of the Air Force. Experience suggests to them that such conferences immediately precede new escalation.

"The North Vietnamese do not trust an offer to negotiate unconditionally which, as they see it, represents only one side of Americas two-sided policy. They want to know if the United States has clearly decided that Vietnam should be united, rather than partitioned. They want to be sure that the United States has finally abandoned any plan to make South Vietnam a military base for the United States in Southeast Asia. Thus 'Observer' stated in Nhan Dan for Jan. 3 that the so-called unconditional negotiations offered by the United States in fact contain four conditions. 1. United



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"States troops will stay in South Vietnam as long as the United States thinks it necessary; 2. South Vietnam must be an independent sovereign state; 3. The United States refused to recognize the NIF; 4. 'The North Vietnamese people are not allowed to support the patriotic struggle of their compatriots in the South.'

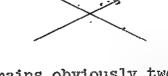
"In our view, the United States does make such policy demands regularly, and they do conflict directly with its other stated aim of unconditional discussions and its denial of any ambition to occupy part of Asia.

"President Johnsons 14 point program appears to come close to the diplomatic statements of the NLF and DRV, especially in accepting the Geneva Agreements as a basis of settlement, in denying any desire to keep troops indefinitely in South Vietnam, and in approving reunification.

"However, the North Vietnamese see two crucial inadequacies in the New United States peace position. First, they wonder how the United States can accept the Geneva Agreements as the basis for settlement but treat the DRV four points merely as a matter which could be discussed. Hanoi considers its four points to be the essence of the Geneva Settlement, especially the provisions requiring withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and leaving all political solutions to the self-determination of the Vietnamese people.

"Secondly, the United States realized that the NLF must be in some sense a party to any final negotiation, but the United States defines the NLF simply as an arm of Hanoi. Premier Pham Van Dong told us that his government can by no means be dissociated from the third point in its four point program, which calls for settling the affairs of South Vietnam in accordance with the program of the NLF. The Premier said that what this point involved was the principle of self-determination at the heart of the Geneva Agreements. Like many others with whom we spoke, the Premier insisted on the independence of the NLF from the DRV government in Hanoi. At one point in our talk he indicated his own surprise at the apparent strength of the NLF and its success in dealing with the United States forces.

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"So long as American policy remains obviously twosided, we can understand the realistic suspicion of Premier Pham Van Dong, who told us: 'What is the reason for the peace offensive? To win public opinion, particularly American public opinion. Only by so doing can President Johnson escalate the war.'

"We feel it would be tragic, and quite frankly, irresponsible on the part of the United States government, to regard Hanois response to a temporary bombing pause as a conclusive demonstration that an honorable negotiated solution cannot be found with the NLF and the DRV. Our conversations in Vietnam convinced us that many ingredients of an honorable solution exist.

"As you know, we have cabled Senator Fulbright asking to report our findings, at any time and under any conditions, to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. We sent this cable because we consider it our responsibility as American citizens to make available to the appropriate agency of the government the information we have obtained.

"We hope to present to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations the full text of our questions to Premier Pham Van Dong and his written answers, together with a summary of our interviews with the Premier and with other NLF and DRV spokesmen. Both these texts will be made public no later than Sunday January 16, when we expect to make a public report at the Manhattan Center in New York City.

"However, because of the urgency of the problems involved, we also consider it our responsibility to state now what we regard as some of the key points in Premier Pham Van Dongs answers to our questions.

"1. In his written answers, the Premier repeated the statement in the Foreign Ministry release of Jan. 4, namely, that a 'political settlement of the Vietnam problem' could be envisaged 'only when the United States has accepted the four-point stand of the Government of the DRV, has proved this by actual deeds, at the same time has stopped unconditionally and for good its air raids and all other acts of war against the DRV.

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"In our interview, we asked the Premier what actual deeds the government of the DRV had in mind. He replied that that was something for the United States government to decide.

"In the context of our conversations, this response appears to clarify significantly the DRV attitude toward American military withdrawal. On the one hand, as we were told over and over again, the NLF and DRV require, as a precondition to negotiations, an unambiguous decision by the United States to Withdraw all its troops from Vietnam. On the other hand, they would seem to be prepared to leave the United States considerable freedom in choosing how to demonstrate by concrete steps that this decision has been made. Every indication is that there is no explicit requirement of the physical withdrawal of all United States troops prior to negotiations.

"2. The Premier categorically denied the presence of 'forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in South Vietnam,' terming it a 'sheer fabrication.'

"We think that this denial has not previously been made in such absolute terms by the highest governmental authorities in the DRV. In response to a similar question from reporter Felix Greene only a few weeks earlier, President Ho Chi Minh only said that the United States is 'fabricating false information' to 'cover up' its aggression.

"Premier Pham Van Dongs answer seems even more interesting since we prefaced our questions by saying that we would not report having asked any question that the Premier chose not to answer. We see little reason for Premier Pham Van Dong to make such a statement if it can be proven false by American authorities.

"3. It has been widely assumed in the United States that the DRV is no longer open to the possibility of reunification of North and South Vietnam by means of a free general election. In response to a question about this, Premier Pham Van Dong referred to a passage in the program of the Vietnamese



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"Fatherland Front, which says in part ' 'we must conduct negotiations to arrange the holding of a free general elections in order to achieve national unity without either side trying to exert pressure on, or trying to annex the other.'

"4. In response to a question about the possible reconvening of the Geneva Conference, Premier Pham Van Dong quoted his words of last April to the effect that once the DRV four points had been accepted 'it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference of the type of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Viet Nam.' We might add that one of the DRV ambassadors to whom we spoke en route to Hanoi commented that determination of the 'role and composition' of an international supervisory commission y would be an appropriate task for such a conference.

"Throughout our interview Premier Pham Van Dong, like so many others to whom we spoke, insisted that while the people of Vietnam were prepared to fight as long as need be to win their independence, noone wanted peace more than they. If there was one message which person after person charged us to bring back to the people of the United States, it was this: Tell the American people make a distinction between them and the American government. Explain to them that we have been fighting for twenty-five years and that many of us, having regrouped to the North under the Geneva Agreements, have not seen or heard from our families in ten years. Who could want peace more than we? But there can be no real peace unless there is independence. An end to this war, they never failed to add, would be in the interest both of our people and of yours.

"At one point in our interview with Premier Pham Van Dong, he said to us: If you have the opportunity to see President Johnson, please ask him for me, why is he fighting us? We wonder if the American people are sure of the answer to this question. Before we launch a new and more terrible round of escalation, should we not stop to consider whether the possibilities of peace have really been exhausted? The present American peace initiative is not yet seen as such by U



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"the Vietnamese. They see it through suspicious eyes, for it is accompanied by American military build-up in the South and by continued United States references to the permanent partitioning of Vietnam. Until these policy inconsistencies have been resolved, we believe it is tragically unfair to brand our antagonists as intransigent or to conclude that an honorable negotiated settlement is impossible."



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An article in the "Daily News", January 9, 1966, page 6, entitled "GIs Hear Sour Quote of U.S. Red", date-lined Saigon, January 8, 1966, related that a tape recording was beamed to United States Servicementin Saigon. Hanoi radio said this was reportedly the voice of American peace missionary HERBERT APTHEKER. In this recording, APTHEKER extolled the North Vietnamese spirit and urged a quick end to "this atrocious war."

The following statement is attributed to APTHEKER, according to the news article:

"Visiting Hanoi and its surrounding area, one may see for himself the determination of this people to be independent and the calm dedication that everywhere is apparent."

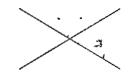
"The movement of peace in the United States gains strength with every passing day. It is vital to the best interest of my fellow citizens that this atrocious war upon the Viet Namese people be terminated as quickly as possible."

#### VI. MEETING AT MANHATTAN CENTER, JANUARY 16, 1966

The meeting at Manhattan Center, 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, New York City, on January 16, 1966, was observed by SA personnel, FBI. At this meeting APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN gave "eye witness" reports on their trip to North Vietnam. The chairman of this meeting was A.J. MUSTE.

The "Daily News", a New York City daily newspaper, August 5, 1965, page 21, carried an article entitled "War Protest to Center on White House." This article indicated that Reverend A.J. MUSTE is National Chairman of the Committee for Non-Violent Action.

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A.J. MUSTE stated that the purpose of this meeting was to hear the reports of three American citizens who recently returned from a visit to North Vietnam. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, Wiew York City.

HERBERT APTHEKER, the first speaker, was introduced by MUSTE as a professional historian and as Director of the AIMS.

APTHEKER, in his speech, described Hanoi as a "target". He related interviews he had with various North Vietnamese and described their reaction to the threat of the United States air raids. He said the United States bombing raids thusfar have not dislocated the people of North Vietnam. He said the Geneva agreements of 1954 should be the basis of a negotiated peace. This is the platform of the NLF and the DRV. He said the DRV has tried to normalize conditions between North and South Vietnam and demand neutrality in the foreign policy of the South Vietnamese Imterim Government, reunification and general free elections.

He said the DRV is seeking to defeat American aggression on their soil. He said the present war in Vietnam is atrocious, immoral and intensly unpopular.

A.J. MUSTE introduced THOMAS HAYDEN as one of the founders of the Students for a Democratic Society.

HAYDEN reported on his impressions of the attitudes of people whom he interviewed in Prague, Moscow, Peking and Hanoi.

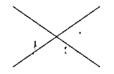


He said they spent December 20, 1965 to December 22, 1965 in Prague and on the evening of their arrival they attended a celebration commemorating the fifth anniversary of the founding of the NLF. In Prague they spoke with the Ambassador of the North Vietnam Republic. HAYDEN stated that the NLF program calls for a coalition government in Vietnam and this would include all elements opposed to United States occupation or aggression.

On arrival in Moscow, according to HAYDEN, they met with a representative of the NLF, a member of the NLF Central Committee. They had a three hour discussion with him. According to this person, the strategy of the United States is to permanently occupy South Vietnam and turn it into a colony. He said the United States had not understood the strength of the "people's war." The revolutionary forces in the South are much stronger than they were in 1954.

Also in Moscow they had a discussion with the Ambassador to North Vietnam. He said that the United Nations has no authority in Vietnam; that the Vietnamese do not require total withdrawal of United States forces as a pre-condition of negotiations but they oppose occupation of South Vietnam and they want the eventual withdrawal of United Sates troops.

had in Peking, China, he concluded the Soviets and the Chinese have only supporting roles in this conflict with the Vietnamese clearly in command. They had a trip through the Chinese Museum of the Revolution. They had an interview with the Editor of a Chinese publication who said "we are Communists and we belong with the weak and oppressed peoples. We support the DRV and the NIF." The Chinese believe there will be more United States troops in Vietnam and more United States bombings, and that the war will be extended to all of Indo-China.



HAYDEN stated that he had interviews with five members of the NLF in Vietnam; that the ... Vietnamese people know more about maintaining independence than we do.

A.J. MUSTE, at this point, read to the meeting a message addirected to the gathering from an official representing the NLF Praesidium "on behalf of the New Year, on behalf of the South Vietnamese people, the NLF and I convey my best congratulations to the American people and organizations struggling for freedon in the United States. The NLF is following with admiration the movement of the American people against the JOHNSON Government's aggressive policy in Vietnam."

A.J. MUSTE introduced STAUGHTON LYND as Assistant Professor at Yale University and affiliated with "Viet. Report."

STAUGHTON LYND stated that the press had asked him to comment on "our" current legal status, anything by the way of legal reprisals. "We performed a task of clarification, not negotiation. In thus attempting to clarify the position of the NLF and the DRV we did what has been done by any other fact finders. It is our hope that the Administration will choose to regard our Christmas journey as an expression of the sentiment expressed by the President on December 20, 1965, to 'knock on any door and travel any place in search of peace.'"

LYND stated that on the Four-Point program of the DRV, he was convinced that direct contact with the DRV and NLF might help resolve any procedural problems.

LYND also discussed the interview they had with Premier PHAM VAN DONG, details concerning which have been set forth in the Press Interview section of this report.



LYND emphasized that if the United States would deal directly with the NLF it might find that other aspects of the NLF program might become more negotiable.

NY T-6 and NY T-7 were present at the Manhattan Center, New York City, on the afternoon of January 16, 1966. The substance of information furnished by these sources is incorporated in the above report concerning the proceedings at this meeting...

A CP National Committee meeting was held on January 16, 1966, at the Wellington Hotel, New York City, and was adjourned at 1:00 p.m. for all to attend the meeting at Manhattan Center where APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN spoke on their trip to Vietnam.

At the January 17, 1966 session of the CP National Committee meeting, APTHEKER delivered a speech on Vietnam stating that he had met with the Central Committee of the North Vietnam CP, without LYND and HAYDEN. The Central Committee recognized him as a CP, USA representative. APTHEKER stated that the Vietnam CP does not wish to intrude into arguments between "United States Leftists" regarding slogans used in anti-war demonstrations. They encouraged the use of any and all slogans so long as the result is increased protest activity.

NY T-8 January 17, 1965



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#### APPENDIX



1.

## AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA) of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, HERBERT APTHEKER stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP,USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP,USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the CP,USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. APTHEKER stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the MC CARRAN and SMITH Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised on May 7, 1965, that as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor west at 20 East 30th Street, New York City, New York.



#### APPENDIX

1.

JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, reflects the following citation concerning the John Reed Clubs of the United States:

"1. Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the Communist Party is clear beyond dispute.'

("Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p.10.)"

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#### APPENDIX

1.

## STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (SCTC)

"The Columbia Owl", weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York City, December 12, 1962, issue, page one, contained an article entitled "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays." This article stated in part that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was formed October 14, 1962, by a group of students from New York City universities, the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College, and the University of North Carolina, who stated that as students they would like a chance to see and evaluate the situation in Cuba for themselves and had received an offer of transportation and two weeks stay in Cuba from the Federation of University Students in Havana, as guests of the Federation. The Committee accepted the offer and applied to the State Department of the United States for passport validation which was refused; however over fifty students planned to dely the State Department ban and go to Cuba.

A source advised on December 6, 1962, that during December, 1962, it was learned that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had recently been formed by the Progressive Labor Group.

A second source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the summer of 1963 fifty-nine individuals travelled to Cuba and that the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and that the trip was planned and organized by PL members.

A third source advised on October 9, 1963 that the SCTC was utilizing Post Office Box 2178, New York 1, New York, as its mailing address.

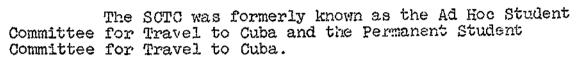
On March 12, 1965, PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE, 504 West 55th Street, New York, New York, a self-admitted member of the SCTC Executive Committee and the PLM National Coordinating Committee advised as follows:

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#### APPENDIX

2.

#### STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUEA (SCIC)



LUCE advised he was a leader and participant of the 1963 trip to Cuba and an organizer of the 1964 trip to Cuba and that both trips were sponsored by the SCTC.

LUCE advised that by the spring of 1964 the Executive Committee of the SCTC was considered to be members of the PLM.

LUCE advised that no trip to Cuba or China was being planned by the SCTC for 1965.



#### APPENDIX

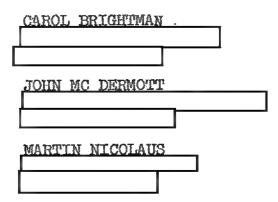


I.

#### "VIET-REPORT"

The masthead of the July, 1965 issue of "Viet-Report" described it as "an emergency news bulletin on Southeast Asian Affairs." The masthead stated that the publication was distributed by Viet-Report, Inc., 133 West 72nd Street, New York City.

The records of the County Clerk, New York County, New York City, reviewed on August 2, 1965, reflected the issuance of Certificate of Incorporation Number 504792, New York State, filed on June 24, 1965, for Viet-Report, Inc., 133 West 72nd Street, New York City; incorporating officers were:



On May 25, 1965, a confidential source . . . advised that on May 13, 1965, a "teach-in" was held at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York, for the purpose of evaluating the Vietnam war; that among the speakers was JOHN MC DERMOTT, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Long Island University, Brooklyn, New York.

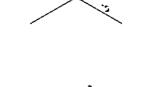
"Viet-Report" issue of July, 1965, page 30, identified JOHN MC DERMOTT as "Associate Editor" of "Viet-Report", and a graduate student in Sociology, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts.



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2.

### "MIET-REPORT"



The March 17, 1964 issue of "The Harvard Crimson" in an article, identified MARTIN NICOLAUS as a graduate student, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, then the acting New England Representative for the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SDTC), who was then accepting applications for a proposed 1964 trip to Cuba as guests of the Cuban Federation of University Students.

A characterization of the SCTC is set forth in the Appendix of this report.



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#### APPENDIX

1.

#### W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternative."

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APPENDIX



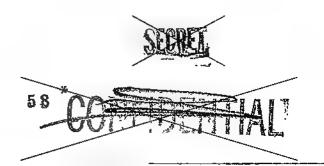
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#### W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

As of October, 1965, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 954 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Over the Labor Day week end, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois. According to a third source, a new slate of national officers was elected at this conference, which included Chairman HUGH STERLING FOWLER, II, (who, according to the third source, attended a CP cadre encampment held at Camp Midvale, New Jersey, in June, 1965, and following his election as Chairman of the DCA, attended another national CP cadre youth conference held on September 9-12, 1965, on a farm located in Northern Indiana, according to a fourth source); Director of Publicity CARL ELLENGER BLOICE (who was elected to the San Francisco County Committee CP in April, 1964, according to a fifth source); Educational Director MATTHEW "DYNAMITE" HALLINAN (who in June, 1964, was stated to be the Youth Representative on the Northern California CP District Board, according to a sixth source); Organizational Secretary TERENCE "KAYO" HALLINAN (who, according to a seventh source, met in June, 1965, with the District Staff of the Illinois CP to discuss the proposed DCA Midwest Summer Project), and Treasurer SUSAN PHYLLIS BORENSTEIN (who, according to an eighth source, has attended meetings of the Youth Club of the CP of Illinois during 1965, in connection with the DCA Summer Project).



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#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York January 25, 1966

Bureau 100-123974 New York 100-80532

Title

Herbert Eugene Aptheker; Staughton Craig Lynd;

Thomas Emmett Hayden

Character

Unauthorized Travel to

Vietnam;

Misuse of United States

Passport; Logan Act; Conspiracy

Reference is made to report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl, dated and captioned as above at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

: The Director

DATE: 1/25/66

FROM

N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT:

The Congressional Record

Pages 918-919. Senator Lausche, (D) Ohio, spoke concerning the unauthorized trip to Hanoi by Staughton Lynd, Herbert Aptheker and Thomas Hayden. He stated "I repeat what I said last week: The Attorney General should investigate this visit to Hanoi, and if he finds there has been a violation of law, he should institute the necessary proceedings to see to that justice is done." Mr. Lausche placed in the Record two articles from the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer.

176 FEB 10 1966

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by Letter /- (- ):

Per FOIA Request 2/ 2/

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for /2 4/66 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's aftention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the officinal memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Electurase as subject matter files.

Original filed in: 66-173/-

3010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

The Director

DATE: 1-21-66

FROM : }

N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT-

The Congressional Record

100-123974

Pages 673-674. Senator Lausche, (D) Ohio, spoke concerning the request contained in telegrams sent from Hanoi on January 5th and from New York on January 12th by Staughton Lynd for himself and Herbert Aptheker and Thomas Hayden "asking for the right to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee and to give testimony and make arguments in behalf of the Communists of North Vietnam and the Ho Chi Minh Communists of South Vietnam." Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden are the three men who traveled to Hanoi without obtaining authority from the State Department. Mr. Lausche advised that he didn't believe they should be allowed to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee. He went on to state "it seems to me that the Attorney General of the United States should give vigorous attention to ascertaining whether our criminal laws have been violated; and if he finds that to be the fact, appropriate action should be taken against those men in the furtherance of justice."

1/00-123974 NOT 10 CORPED 176 JULI 28 1965

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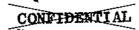
Per FOLA Request Qf / el

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1-20-66 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case of subject matter files.

ginal filed in: 66 - 173/- 27.15

< 33

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley February 3, 1966 Assistant Attorney General DÉCLASSIFIED BY Director, FBI Mr. Franck But - Mr. McNiff - Mr. Reddy HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER - Mail Room STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND APPROPRIATE AGENCIES THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM ADVISED BY ROUTING MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT SLIP ( OF DEC) LOGAN ACT DATE S CONSPIRACY Reference is made to your letters dated January 10. 1966, and January 14, 1966, outlining the specific investigation to be conducted by this Bureau regarding the recent unauthorized travel to North Vietnam by Herbert Eugene Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden. كدال دا ٥٠ Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 26, 1966, at Attached is a copy of the report of Special investigation you requested. Attached as enclosures to this report are copies of seven statements which were 1012 located by United States Customs Inspector Eva Elein in the baggage of Thomas Hayden upon Hayden's arrival at the John Fitzgerald Kennedy International Airport on January 9. 1966. REC- 80 1-00-12 Also attached is a copy of a memorandum dated January 25, 1966, at Washington, D. C., captioned "Staughton Craig Lynd" regarding the appearance of Lynd at an affair sponsored by the Women Strike for Peace which was held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington 1966 D. C., on the evening of January 24, 1966. က EB EB Finally, a copy of the report prepared by J. c. F. Leonard of the State Department following his interview with Staughton Lynd on January 11, 1966, is also attached. No further investigation is contemplated in this case in the absence of a specific request from the Department, Tolson DeLoach 100-123974 Wick 100-396916 Callahan 100-438281 Conrad Felt Gale Enclosures - 10 Rosen Sallivan . Tavel Trotter. Tele. Room SEE NOTE PAGE TWO EBR: jas (9) Holmes MAIL ROOM [ TELFTYPE UNIT Gandy.



### Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTEL

classified "Confidential" as the enclosures are so classified. Enclosures are so classified since they contain information the disclosure of which could reveal the sources and adversely affect the national defense.

JEURSANENED JEURSANENED ADDIANA

2 -

1 - Mr. Reddy

TELETYPE

URGENT

SENT. BY CODED TELETYPE

TO SAC, NEW YORK

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIÉTNAM; MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT; CONSPIRACY.

REREP OF SPECIAL AGENT VINCENT J. ASCHERL DATED JANUARY
TWENTY FIVE LAST.

PAGES TEN, ELEVEN AND TWELVE OF REREP ARE FD. THREE ZERO

TWOS SETTING OUT INFORMATION FURNISHED BY

AIR INDIA, RELATING TO THE EXAMINATION OF THE

PASSPORT OF APTHEKER, LYND AND HAYDEN PRIOR TO THEIR DEPARTURE

FROM JOHN F. KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ON DECEMBER NINETEEN

IMMEDIATELY RECONTACT AND DETERMINE IF HE CAN

MAKE A POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION OF APTHEKER, LYND, AND HAYDEN

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS WHICH SHOULD BE EXHIBITED TO HIM.

| C-21 | DEPARTMENT HAS ALSO REQUESTED INFORMATION REGARDS

AVAILABILITY FOR INTERVIEW AND FOR POSSIBLE TESTIMORY OFB 7 1966

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS T-THREE AND T-FOUR IN SPECIAL AGENT

Colorer ASCHERL'S REPORT DATED JANUARY TWENTY-FIVE LAST AND OF

Felt EBR: jas((3)

LAST.

Totson — DeLouch

Conrad

Trotter FEB 4 1866

ENCODED MESSAGE

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**√** b7D

TELETYPE TO SAC, NEW YORK
RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND, THOMAS
EMMETT HAYDEN

"CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE NUMBER ONE" IN NEW YORK LETTERHEAD
MEMORANDUM DATED DECEMBER FOURTEEN LAST. ALSO ADVISE WHETHER
THE INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THESE THREE SOURCES IS DIRECT
KNOWLEDGE OR HERRSAY.

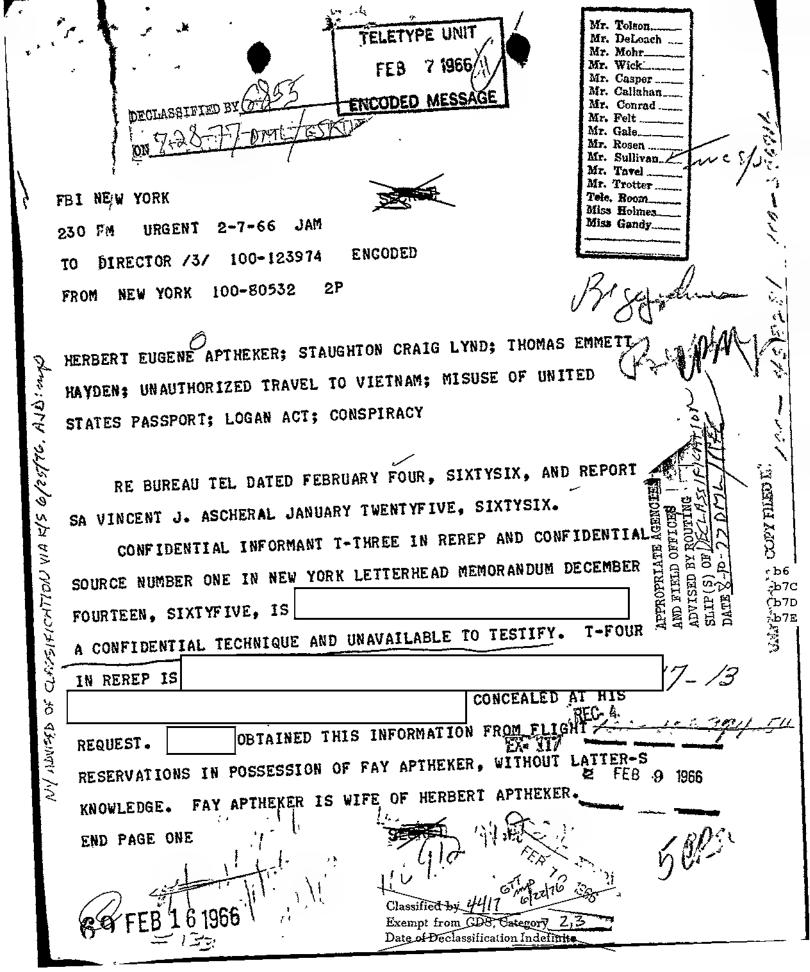
SUTEL REPLY TO REACH BUREAU NOT LATER THAN COB MONDAY, FEBRUARY SEVEN NEXT.

NOTE:

Department is considering possible prosecutive action against Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden as a result of their recent unauthorized trib to North Vietnam. Request for above information received telephonically at 3 p.m. today from Department Attorney Brandon Albey. Teletype being utilized since Department Attorney Albey requested reply not later than Tuesday morning, February 8, 1966.

FEB 4 1968// ENCODED MESSAGE

- 2 -





b7D

PAGE TWO	
SHE IS	FLIGHT RESERVATIONS
INDEPENDENTLY FOR SUBJECTS. INASMUCH AS ABOVE I	NFORMATION WAS
OBTAINED BY	AND WAS
NOT LEGALLY IN HIS POSSESSION, HE WOULD NOT BE O	COMPETENT OR
FAVORABLE WITNESS AS TO SAME. WOULD NOT	BE WILLING
TO BE INTERVIEWED BY DEPARTMENT ATTORNEY AND IS	NOT WILLING
TO PUBLICLY TESTIFY SINCE IF HE DID, HE WOULD CE	CRTAINLY
	AIR INDIA,
NOT AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW UNTIL EVENING FEBRUA	ARY SEVEN,
SIXTYSIX. RESULTS OF INTERVIEW WILL BE FURNISHE	D BUREAU.
END	
RPT	
FBI WASH DC	



Mr. J. Walter Ymagley Assistant Attorney General Attention: Mr. Brandon Alvey February 8, 1966 Director, FBI 12-111917-1 - Mr. Reddy HERBERT EUGENS APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS ENNETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM New York, New York, and to the memorandum dated

Confidential informant T-3 in the report of
Special Agent Ascherl and confidential source much in the memorandum dated December 14. 1965, at New York, both captioned as above. Note that the second in the memorandum dated December 14. 1965. MISUSE OF PASSPORT Confidential informant T-4 in the report of Special Agent Ascherl is a source of this Bureau's New York Office who obtained the information attributed to him in the memorandum from flight reservations in the possession of Fay Antheker, the wife of Herbert intheker This source b7D fay Antheker. Since the cotained this information  $\infty$ and without the knowledge or ray aptnexer, it does not appear that he would be a competent or favorable witness. addition, the source expressed an unwillingness to be interviewed by Department attorneys or to testify, pointing out that should be testify he would definitely b7D Air India, John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, New York, who furnished the information set out on pages ten, eleven and twelve of Special Agent Ascherl's report, identified photographs of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden and recalled that he had read about their trip to North Vietnam in local Tolson Deloach newspapers. He did not recall any specific statements by Mohr Casper Callahan GROUP 1 Contad 100-123974 Excluded from automatic Felt <u> 1</u>00-396916 lowngrading and Gale Rosen 100-438281 declassification Salliva New York SEE NOTE PAGE TWO → 13 > MAIL ROON TELETYPE UNIT



#### Mr. J. Walter Yengley

Aptheker, Lynd or Hayden that they were en route to North Vietnam. Is unwilling to testify since he fears testimony would reflect unfavorably upon his employment with Air India and might possibly result in recriminations by friends of aptheker, Lynd and Hayden.

b7D

This letter confirms information furnished today by Special Agent Edward B. Reddy of this Bureau to Department Attorney Brandon Alvey.

#### NOTE:

The Department is considering possible prosecutive action against Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden as a result of their recent unauthorized travel to North Vietnam. Request for the above information was received telephonically from Department Attorney Albey on the afternoon of February 4. 1966.

Classified Confidential as it relates to possible prosecutive plans involving current informants, the disclosure of whom could adversely affect the national defense.

TELETYPE UNIT

FEB 7 1966

ENCODED MESSAGE

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FBI NEW YORK

8:44 PM EST URGENT 2/7/66 M.F.R.

TO DIRECTOR ///9///

FROM NEW YORK (100-80532) 1 PAGE

Mr. Tolson

Mr. DeLonch

Mr. Mohr

Mr. Wick

Mr. Gasper

Mr. Callahan

Mr. Conrad

Mr. Felt

Mr. Gale

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Sullivan

Mr. Tretter

Tele, Room

Miss Holmes

Miss Gandy

b7D

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT CONSPIRACY.

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JECTS AND RECOLLECTED TH	AT HE HAD READ ABOUT	LIDENT IF IED PHOT	RECOLLEC  FOS OF SUB-  TOS OF SUB-  TN LOCAL
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NY 100-80532

GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA, told ARNOLD JOHNSON in strict confidence that he is very angry because of the way HERBERT APTHEKER handled the recent delegation to North Vietnam. In HALL's opinion, APTHEKER should have made certain that JOHN LEWIS of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was included in the delegation. At the last moment LEWIS was "cancelled out" and HALL did not understand why.

According to HALL, the delegation would have been much .more "impressive" if a youth leader such as LEWIS had been included in the delegation.

HALL also was incensed because, when in North Vietnam, APTHEKER had not insisted upon conferring with HO CHI-MINH, President of North Vietnam. HALL stated that, even though HO CHI-MINH was not in Hanoi at the time when the arbressid delegation was there, APTHEKER nevertheless should have insisted on a meeting with HO CHI-MINH, and should not have been prevailed upon to talk to the Premier and Generals rather than to MINH. Had the aforesaid delegation conferred with MINH personally, it would have gained "international prestige" and its report on North Vietnam would have been more "authoritative" in the eyes of the United States Government. HALL further told JOHNSON that APTHEKER had committed "a terible blunder", in that when STAUGHTON LYND requested that he be permitted to join the CP. USA, APTHEKER failed to encourage him, stating that LYND was "politically immature, a pacifist at heart", and not yet ready to join the Communist Party. HALL stated that as a result of APTHEKER's stupidity he felt that the Communist Party now has "lost LYND".



Airtel

- Mr. Reddy

Del by j Per To: SAC, New York FOIA From:

Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT

≃LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

ReButel 2/4/66 and urtels 2/7/66.

Department has requested that airline records and any other sources be checked in an effort to develop evidence to establish the complete itinerary of subjects from the time of their departure from the United States until their arrival in Hanoi, North Vietnam.

It is noted that in the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, information is set out under the caption "Itinerary of Subjects" to the effect that the subjects traveled to London, England, via Air India, Flight 116, on 12/19/65 and to Prague, Czechoslovakia, on British European Airlines, flight number unknown, which was scheduled to depart from London at 11 a.m., 12/20/65. no information from an admissible source regarding subjects! further itinerary. It is noted that upon return to the United they traveled to Hanoi via London, Prague, Moscow, Estates, the subjects admitted in a statement to the press that \_and\_Peking,

While it is doubtful that evidence to establish the above complete itinerary can be developed, New York should assure that no possibility is overlooked in this regard. Suairtel whether all possibilities have been exhausted in an effort to develop the information requested by the Department regarding the complete itinerary of subjects. RFC-75

Tolson DeLoach. NOTE: Department is considering possible prosecutive action Mont . Caccer against Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden as a result of their FFBcent1966 Callahan unauthorized trip to North Vietnam! Request for above information Contai Felt received telephonically this morning from Department Attorney Gale Возев . Brandon Alvey Sali,van

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Enc. 100-123974 CC 9 DOLETTER Granice to 100-123974 CC 9 DOLETTER GRANICE TO M' Carthy, State, State, 24 185 ENCLOSUR Rechanding New Toronto.

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#### RTMENT OF JUSTICE

## Memorandu $\overline{m}$

TO

Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

February y 1966

J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General Internal Security Division

411

SUBJECT: STAUGHTON LYND HERBERT APTHEKER

THOMAS HAYDEN

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM

In connection with the prosecutive consideration which we are giving to the captioned matter, it is requested that it be ascertained if any representatives of the Department of State in Prague, Czechoslovakia or Moscow, U.S.S.R. overheard the subjects make any statements with regard to their travel or their ultimate destination. We are specifically interested in any statement which would indicate that prior to their departure from the United States they intended to travel to Red China or North Vietnam.

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EX 709

ENCLOSURE REC- 3

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Finally, it was requested that we be furnished copies of any documents or other material which may have been taken from the subjects by Customs Agents upon their return to the United States. In the event it is not practicable to copy a document because of its bulk, a description of such material will suffice.

1 - Mr. Reddy

Airtel

To: SACe. M

SACs, New York (100-80532)

Washington Field (100-44569)

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT APTREKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT — COMSPIRACY

By letter February 15, 1986, the Department requested advice as to the availability for interview and testimony of the confidential informants designated as T-6, T-7 and T-8 in the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York.

It is noted that the symbols T-6 and T-7 relate respectively, and that T-8 is

New York musirtel availability of for interview by Department attorneys and for possible testimony. The Bureau will handle the question relative to the availability of

Department also requested advice as to availability of confidential informants WF T-1 and T-2 in Washington Field LEE dated January 25, 1966. These symbols relate to panel source respectively.

Yesbington Field sumirtel availability of for interview by Department attorneys and for mostly to the formula t

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1 - Mr. Reddy

Airtel

(100-80532) (2-1/19) SAC, New York To:

Director, FBI (100-123974) From:

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reurairtel 2/17/66.

The members of the crew of the 12/19/65 Air India Flight Number 116 from New York to London who were in a position to and might have entered into a discussion with Aptheker, Lynd or Hayden while en route to London should be interviewed to determine whether any admissions were made by any of the three that their ultimate destination was North Vietnam.

If the manifest for this flight is available, passengers who reside in the New York City area should be similarly interviewed. Pictures of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden may be utilized in connection with any interviews conducted. Submit FD 302's if any positive information developed.

to determine Expedite recontact with feasibility of interviewing Saul Rosenbaum who was allegedly on the same flight with Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden from Prague to Moscow. Since Rosenbaum was apparently on a valid Spusiness trip to the Soviet Union, this information would be known to the Department of State and possibly other covernment agencies and an approach to Rosenbaum could possibly be made on the basis that he was known to have traveled to the Soviet Union at approximately the same time as Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden and that he was being contacted to determine the possibility that he might have encountered them in Moscow. It does not appear that such an approach would jeopardize Tolson DeLoach Mohr. Wick . EBR:jas (4) Casper .. Callahan .

Conrad <del>S</del>EE NOTE PAGE TWO

Gale Rosen Tele, Room

**Holmes** 

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

**b7**D

Airtel to New York
RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

however, your recommendation regarding interviewing Rosenbaum should be submitted to the Bureau following contact with

NOTE:

In connection with possible prosecution of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden for unauthorized travel to North Vietnam, we are attempting to develop evidence that at the time they departed from the United States, they had the specific intent to travel to North Vietnam. Information from Air India confirms travel as far as Prague but no further. State Department is conducting inquiry at London. Prague and Moscow for any pertinent information.

Information that Saul Rosenbaum of New York City was on the flight with Aptheker, Lynd and Havden from Prague to Moscow was obtained by informant Saul Rosenbaum. Although Rosenbaum is not the subject of a security investigation, the president of the company by which he is employed is the subject of a security investigation in New York. This company does a substantial business with the Soviet Union in textiles.

b7D

**b7**D

#### FB1

	Date: 2/17/66	
Tra	nsmit the following in	
	ATEMET	
Via	(Priority)	
		·
	TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	
	FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)	
, and a	SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	
	ReBuairtel, 2/9/66.	
	John F. Kennedy International Airport, Queens, NY, was recontacted by SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL 2/15/66. He had originally advised that subjects departed New York on Air India Flight 116 on 12/19/65, for London, England. He furnished additional information that their connecting flight in London on British European Airlines was flight number 918, departing London 12/20/65, and arriving Prague, Czechoslovakia, same date.	<b>₽</b> 40
	could furnish no further information concerning subjects itinerary. It is noted that he has declined to testify in this case	b7D
C.	Review of HERBERT APTHEKER file NYO, reflects information received from on 12/28/65, to the effect that SAUL ROSENBAUM, was on the same plane with APTHEKER, apparently on the flight from Prague to Moscow. This information was obtained by informant SAUL	ъ6 ъ7с ъ7D
	REC 8 3-Bureau (100-123074) (RM) (343) 8 FEB 15 1565	b3 b6
I	VJA: rmv (6) Approved: Special Agent in Charge  Sent M Per Maria M	ь7с

NY 100-80532

are textile prokers and are
doing a substantial business with the Soviets in textiles.
of the company and is subject of
Information concerning
and his company has been furnished the Bureau (refer Burile
. SAUL ROSENBAUM is not subject of security
investigation NYO.
is being recontacted for any possible
additional information bearing upon ROSENBAUM's travel with
APTHEKER. Direct contact with RGSENBAUM by NYO in this
matter might jeonardize security of Results or
recontact with   will be furnished promptly to
Bureau and further consideration will be given by NYO to
an interview with ROSENBAUM, as soon as recontact with
can be arranged.

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ь7D

-2-

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)	Mr. Telson
	Mr. Wick
FBI	office from the second
Date: 2/18/66	To Cale.
Transmit the following in(Type in plain text or code)	Mr. Rosen Mr. Sullivan
ViaAIRTEL	5. Tratter
(Priority or Method of Mailing)	Ganly
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	-
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-45394) (P)	1.
SUBJECT: HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	A for a
ReBuairtel, 2/17/66, captioned as above.	1449
Panel Source, and available for interview and testimony.	67D
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MAR 3 E33	b with
Approved: Special Agent in Charge  M Per	



Mr. J. Walter Yearley Assistant Attorney General March 1, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGRION LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to your letter dated February 15 1966, requesting advice as to the aveilability for testimony at a possible future trial of the captioned subjects of certain sources listed in the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascheri dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, and in the memorandum dated January 25, 1966. at Washington, D. C.

The source designated as T-S in the report of Special Agent Ascherl has advised that he is apprehensive as to the effect restriving would have on his health. Accordingly, he does not desire to testify.

The source designated as T-7 in Special Agent Macherl's report is is available for interview by Department attorneys Shud for testimony if necessary.

福み書 独立点を available to the Denartment for testimory of

The source designated as T-8 in Special Agent Ascherl's report is currently furnishing security information of extreme value and is not available for

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Tolson		N-1239	14	7.7	
Del.ooch	<del></del>	. 25.3	~ .	$\hookrightarrow I$	1/

<sup>₩Ž</sup> - New York (100-80532) 2 - Washington Field (100-44569)

EBR: jas (8)

Mohr . ₩.ck Casper

Callahan .

Contad .

Tavel Trotter . Tele, Room Holmes

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO





#### Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

For your further information, it has been determined that an additional source of this Bureau's New York Office was present at the January 16, 1966, meeting at Manhattan Center, New York City, at which Aptheker, Lynd and Mayden spoke of their travel to Morth Vietnam. This source is being contacted to determine his availability for interview and possible testimony. You will be advised in this regard in the immediate future.

The source designated as WF Twl in the memorandum dated January 25, 1956, at Washington, D. C.,

is available for interview and for testimony if

The source designated as WF T-2 in this memorandum originally signified her availability for interview and testimony but later reconsidered her position and expressed an unwillingness to be interviewed by Department attorneys or to testify.

For the Department's additional information, both sections of Staughton Lynd's January 24, 1966, speech at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., were recorded by James McGovern, the hotel's security officer, and copies of the tapes were made available to this Bursau's Vashington Field Office. It is not known whether McGovern had permission to record the speeches from sither Lynd or the organization which sponsored Lynd's appearance. It has been determined, however, that the recordings were made in a room adjoining the speaker's platform and were taped through the hotel's loud-speaker system. The copies of the recordings prepared by McGovern are available for review by Department attorneys.

NOTE: Classified "Contidential" as it relates to possible prosecutive plans involving current informants the disclosure of whom would adversely affect the national defense.



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T	O : Mr. W. C. Sullivan DATE: 0/19/06	
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	1 - Mr. DeLoach Tole Room	
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	1 - Mr. Baumgardner	Α,
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5ર	JBJECT. HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER 1 - Mr. Reddy	P
	STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND	1
	THOMAS EUGENE HAYDEN	· \
	UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM	J
	MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT	1
*	LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	f î.
3		
410.44	By letter 2/15/66, the Department inquired regarding the	1
S	availability of certain sources for testimony in the possible future	,
<	trial of Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden for their recent unauthorized	2
4	travel to Vietnam.	, <i>u</i>
-	The state of the s	6. 0
S V	Three of the five sources listed by the Department	11
े रे	are panel sources and another is a potential security informant. There	
W// 92,	should be no difficulty with reference to these four sources testifying	8
70	since they were directed by the New York and Washington Field Offices	2.7
1	to cover certain activities for the specific purpose of testifying $(u)$	No. i
A		) III
Ch.	if this case should come to trial.	)
Ch.		
120	The fifth source listed by the Department is	67D
152/5	The fifth source listed by the Department is one of our top-ranking informants. This	)
152/5	The fifth source listed by the Department is one of our top-ranking informants. This informant	) 52.07D
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TION 6/29	The fifth source listed by the Department is one of our top-ranking informants. This informant	in and and and and and and and and and an
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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EUGENE HAYDEN

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#### OBSERVATIONS:

₩o	Since it appears that the testimony of Id be purely cumulative since Aptheker has made statements similar	ь7р
to	that he made at the National Committee meeting at other meetings	
WΩ	Ch were open to the public and regarding which testimony is avail-	
ab	e from other sources and further in view of the key Party assign-	
me	ts to be handled in the near future by both the informant	
	it is felt that the Department should be advised that this	
1,11	Ormant-is not available for interview or testimony in connection	
Wi	h any future prosecutive action against Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden	,
	1 /2	Χ
RE	OMMENDATION:	Ą
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_	If you approve, the Department will, at the time we furnish	
in	ormation regarding the availability of other sources, be advised	
τn	t   is currently furnishing security information of	b7D
ex	reme value and is not available for interview or testimony.	\
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unsmit t	he following in	(Type in plain text or code)	
ı	AIRTEL		
		(Priority or Method of Mailing)	
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	
	FROM:	SAC, WFO (100-45394) (P)	
	SUBJECT:	STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT	
		ReWFOairtel to Bureau, 2/18/66.	
	advised of testimon	mentioned in referenced s being available for interview and testimony, on 2/19/66, that after discussing her possible y with her husband, her husband had expressed that she not testify in the above captioned	
	STAUGHTOI tapes wer Washingto	For info of the Bureau, WFO is in possession s of tapes of each session of talks given by N LYND on the evening of 1/24/66. The original re made available by the Security Officer of the on Hilton Hotel. The Bureau may wish to make pes available to the Department for review.	
	() / () / () / () / () / () / () / () /	au REC 67 62-111917-22	<del></del> -
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FBI

Approved: (1: ) (upo o / Special Agent in Charge

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		FBI	IIr. Wick
		Date: <b>2/21/66</b>	*fp. T' lt
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Via AIRTEL		(Priority or Method of Mailing)	etter (i ly
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	
	FROM:	SAC, WFO (100-45394) (P)	J
	SUBJECT:	HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM	WH-
		MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	
•		ReWFOairtel to Bureau, 2/21/66.	i c
		Enclosed herewith are 2 reels, #1 and a tain both sections of the speech given 1/24/66, referred to in above referenced	by STAUGHTON
		The white marker on reel #1 designates of the part of LYND's speech where he to Prague, Moscow, Peking and Hanoi.	
	Hotel, Co Washingto adjoining	Above two reels are copies of two reels McGOVERN, Security Officer, Washington Innecticut Avenue and Columbia Road, N.W. D.C. McGOVERN had the recordings made room to the speaker's platform and the d through the hotel's loudspeaker system	Hilton •, e in an recordings
	time. Mc	Enclosed reels were copied from original the originals returned to McGOVERN as GOVERN has not been recontacted to date this matter.	t th <del>a</del> t
Eiter	Burea 1 - WFO	u (Encl.2)   11 917 REC-17, 75  EX 105 13 M	AR 14 1966
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2 7	Co King gal	Ágent in Charge	

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	11	FBI	
	)	Date: 2/23/66	
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ν1α <u></u>	ATTURE	(Priority)	
		·	
	TO :	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	
	FROM :	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)	
	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT CONSPIRACY  ReBuairtel to NY, 2/17/66, and report of SA  J. ASCHERL, dated 1/25/66, at NY.  Panel Source (NY T-7) is	
	availabl availabl	ReBuairtel to NY, 2/17/66, and report of SA  J. ASCHERL, dated 1/25/66, at NY.  Panel Source (NY T-7) is e for interview by a Department attorney and also e for possible testimony.  In NY airtel to 11/28/61, the Bureau was advised that	3 7D
	a Federa request	was scheduled to appear in Washington, D.C., before  1 Grand Jury, on per subpoena issued at  of Department	
		Dano's Courses (NIX III 6 in referenced b)	7D
	report),	Panel Source (NY T-6 in referenced advised on 2/23/66, that he did not desire to	
	3-Bureau 1-NY (10 VJA:kxk/ (5)	(100-123974) (RM) (100-123974) (RM) (100-123974) (RM) (100-123974) (RM) (100-123974) (RM) (100-123974) (RM)	
0	Apploved:	Special Agent in Charge	

NY 100-80532

be interviewed by a Department attorney in this case, and moreover, did not wish to testify.  which has existed for some time, and stated he was apprehensive as to the effects such testifying or interview would have on his health. He offered this concern for his health as the condition which would preclude any interview or testimony.
Referenced report reflects on page B that in addition to T-5 and T-6, the following sources attended the Manhattan Center meeting on 1/16/66, and accordingly, should be able to furnish substantially the same testimony as T-5 and T-o:
All of these are current active security informants
will be recontacted, however, to determine if he is available and willing to testify, in which event this information will be furnished expeditiously to the Bureau, so that his name can be furnished to the Department for consideration as a witness.

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Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

To:

SAC, New York (100-80532)

REC 25 62-11/9/1 - 25

From:

Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND EX-113

THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRI

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT

LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Attached is a copy of a letter from the Department dated 2/24/66 referring to New York memorandum of 1/20/66 captioned "Communist Party, USA, Organization" and requesting the identity and availability and willingness to testify of the "New York Times" reporter who allegedly interviewed Aptheker, Lynd and Hayden in Hanoi, North Vietnam.

Expedite.

Enclosure

EBR:jas (4)

Tolson MAILED 3 DeLoach. Mohr FEB 28 1966 Wick . Casper Callahan Conrad . COMM-FRE Felt \_ Gale Rosen . Sullivan -Tavel \_ Trotter -Tele, Room Holmes . MAIL ROOM Z TELETYPE UNIT Gandy

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### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO

Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

February 24 1966

Jay:

J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General Internal Security Division

SUBJECT:

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAY

THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN PASSPORT VIOLATION

Reference is made to your memorandum of January 20, 1966 made at New York, New York, captioned Communist Party, USA, Organization.

Your memorandum reflects that the subjects were interviewed by a representative of the New York Times in Hanoi, North Viet Nam, during their recent trip to that country. As you know, although the subjects have admitted their travel to North Viet Nam it is desirable that we have corroborative evidence of their visit to that country in order to establish a violation of 8 USC 1185(b).

We would appreciate, therefore, being advised of the name of the New York Times representative who interviewed the subjects as well as his availability and willingness to testify as to their presence there in the event of their prosecution.

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Airtel

1 - Mr. Reddy

To: SAC. Detroit

From: Director, FBI (100-123974)

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS KAYDEN UNAUTHGRIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Reurairtel and LHM 2/21/66 captioned "CPUSA, Public Appearances of Party Leaders, IS-C; Herbert Aptheker, IS-C."

Page five of referenced LHM indicates that during Aptheker's speech at the University of Michigan on 2/10/66, "he spoke at length on his recent visit to Hanoi, North Vietnam."

Suairtel LHM setting out in as much detail as possible Aptheker's remarks which related to his recent visit to Hanoi.

EBR: jas (4)

MAILED 5 FEB28, 6 COMM-FBI

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Tele Room

Tolson

DeLoach Mohr. Wick .

Casper. Callahan . Contad . Felt\_ Gale .

Rosen. Sullivan Tayel . Trotter .

Holmes

Date: 3/1/66  Insmit the following in			
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)  FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)  SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APPHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMENT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY  ReBuairtel, 2/23/66. Names of crew members of Air India flight 116, 12/19/65, obtained from microfilm records at INS, 20 West Broadway, New York City. Arrangements being made with Air India for appointments to interview logical members of crew who would have had contact with subjects to determine whether any admissions were made by any of the three that their ultimate destination was North Vietnam.  Following individuals from New York City area listed as departing with subjects on above Air India flight:  DENTS P BISCHOEF  LILY GOLDSMITH REC-6  HARRY GOLDSMITH (same address)  3 - Bureau (100-123974) (RM) -1 - New York (100-80532) (42)  VJA:gmd (5)			FBI
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)  FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)  SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY  ReBuairtel, 2/23/66. Names of crew members of Air India flight 116, 12/19/65, obtained from microfilm records at INS, 20 West Broadway, New York City. Arrangements being made with Air India for appointments to interview logical members of crew who would have had contact with subjects to determine whether any admissions were made by any of the three that their ultimate destination was North Vietnam.  Following individuals from New York City area listed as departing with subjects on above Air India flight:  DENTS P BISCHOFF  DENTS P BISCHOFF  LILY GOLDSMITH (same Address)  3 - Bureau (100-123974) (RM) -1 - New York (100-80532) (H2)  VJA:gmd (5)			Date: 3/1/66
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India flight 116, 12/19/65, obtained from microfilm records at INS, 20 West Broadway, New York City. Arrangements being made with Air India for appointments to interview logical members of crew who would have had contact with subjects to determine whether any admissions were made by any of the three that their ultimate destination was North Vietnam.  Following individuals from New York City area listed as departing with subjects on above Air India flight:  DENTS P BISCHOEF  B66  B7C  JERE T. FARRAH  HARRY GOLDSMITH (same address)  3 - Bureau (100-123974) (RM) 1 - New York (100-80532) (42)  VJA:gmd  (5)			
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NY 100-80532

and positive information received will be incorporated in FD 302.

was recontacted 2/24/66. He stated that SAUL ROSENBAUM had furnished no additional details concerning his flight with subjects than he had previously furnished to NYO. He interjected no opposition to any contemplated interview with ROSENBAUM by NYO and was of opinion that ROSENBAUM would cooperate fully with Bureau.

Interviews with above individuals are being conducted,

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Based on results of above contact with it is recommended that SAUL ROSENBAUM be interviewed along lines set forth in referenced Bureau airtel. UACB, such interview will be conducted and results furnished promptly to Bureau in FD 302.

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F B I

		Date: 3/2/66	
'ransmit t	he following in	(Type in plaintext or code)	
/ia	AIRTEL		
, Id		(Priority)	
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	_
	FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)	   
C	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER; STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIET NAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	
		ReNYairtel to Bureau, 3/1/66.	
	the same as did t R. COLES	In addition to the individuals from the New y area listed in referenced airtel who took Air India Flight from New York, on 12/19/65, he subjects, it is pointed out that JULIAN, United States Passport Number was this flight.  HULLAN RECOLES gave an address of	b b
		of Mrs. WILSON JOHNSON determined that JULIAN es reside there.	B
	and JULI	The JOHNSONs are friends of the COLES family	p.
	<del></del>	reside in Belgium and he was this trip to visit them.  (2-1/1917-28)  eau (RM)	, · - -
B		York (RM) (encs. 3) REC-29	
	VJA:gfb (7)	INTERIOR DE LA CONTRACTION DEL CONTRACTION DE LA	
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Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-80532

For the information of the Baltimore Office, above subjects departed New York, on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, bounded for London, England. Their ultimate destination was Hanol, North Vietnam.

Department attorneys wish to determine whether subjects made any admissions while en route to London, that their ultimate destination was Hanoi. Accordingly, certain of the passengers aboard this flight will be interviewed.

It is believed that JULIAN R. COLES was in close proximity to the subjects, since he was bounded for Brussels, Belgium, and may have had a previous reservation on Sabena Flight 548, which was scheduled to depart from John F. Kennedy International Airport at 8:30 p.m., on the same date.

This flight was canceled at the last moment. It will be noted that APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN had earlier reservations on Sabena Flight 548, and at the last moment they booked passage on Air India Flight 116, when the Sabena flight was canceled.

If an interview with JULIAN R. COLES is desired, the Bureau is requested to so instruct the Baltimore Office.

Enclosed for Baltimore is one photograph of each of the subjects, which should be displayed to COLES in the event the Bureau instructs that he be interviewed.

	1		Mr. Wat
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		Date: <b>3/3/66</b>	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
nsmit th	e following 1	n(Type in plaintext or code)	- Market
	AIRTEL	REGISTERED	Ti.R
		(Priority)	II 5
	TO:	Director, FBI (100-123974)	
19	FROM:	SAC, Detroit (100-16293)	1 . 1.0
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di/	STAUGHTO THOMAS E		
F	UNAUTHOR	RIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM	Livili/
		OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT OT - CONSPIRACY	MUT
-		au airtel to Detroit, 2/28/66.	V''
		I herewith for the Bureau are ten copies of to captioned matter.	an LHM
to the state of th	request. Mich., a a tape r APTHEKER being tr	, whose identity is being protected at He attended the described meeting at Annual on 2/11/66, made available to the Detro recording made by him on the evening of 2/1 spoke. This tape recording is in the protection at Detroit and upon completion of the designated the Bureau and appropriate	n Arbor, oit Office 10/66 when ocess of of same,
Б	audio re being at	ormation contained in enclosed LHM was obtactive of the tape recording. This informate tributed toas the original state individual who made the tape recording a	cion is source as
, i	the sour he has, a ENCLOSU 3 - Bure 2 - Detr	eau (Enc. 10) (RM) 5 1-117 6.2-1/19	office. 57
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n Reply, Please Refer to

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan March 3, 1966

Re: Herbert Aptheker

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on February 11, 1966, advised that on the evening of February 10, 1966, Herbert Aptheker spoke at Rackham Auditorium, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Aptheker, in his speech, commented on his recent trip to North Vietnam.

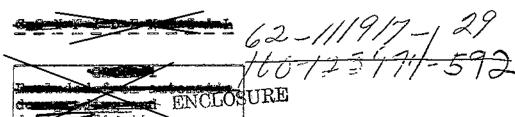
He opened his speech by quoting remarks attributed to President Abraham Lincoln made when he was a newly-elected Congressman from the State of Illinois, during which time a war was going on with Mexico. At that time, Lincoln was critical of the actions of President Polk and accused him of deceiving the public about the circumstances of that war.

Aptheker stated that everywhere in North Vietnam, there are air raid shelters and the attitude of the people of North Vietnam is one of calm determination. He stated that the North Vietnamese love their children and their independance. They pride themselves in their villages, their farms and their labors.

He stated that due to the bombing of certain areas in North Vietnam by United States planes, travel in these areas is only at night.

He stated that he had a conversation with a Roman Catholic priest in North Vietnam who asked what the North Vietnamese had done to America and why were the Americans bombing the North Vietnamese. He stated that this bombing is cruel and inhuman.

Aptheker stated that he had visited the (German) concentration camps 21 years ago while in the United States field artillery. There he saw the ovens used for cremation. He stated that now the crematoria are being made in the United States, are portable, and are napalm and phosphorus bombs which are dropped on the North Vietnamese.





Re: Herbert Aptheker

Aptheker indicated that the interest of the United States in North Vietnam actually lies in its natural resources such as tin, tungsten, etc., which we desire to keep available for our use.

Aptheker commented on the Geneva Agreement of 1954, comparing it to the Treaty of Paris of 1783. He stated both treaties were entered into after prolonged negotiations by defeated colonial powers. In the earlier case, the defeated colonial power was Great Britain and in the latter case, France was the defeated colonial power. In the former case, the colonial people who received their independence were the American people and in the latter case, the colonial people who received their independence were the Wietnamese.

The Geneva Agreement of 1954 was a generous one offered by the victorious Vietnamese people to the defeated French colonialists. Thus the Geneva Agreement of 1954 represented concessions to the French and created a temporary non-political division of Vietnam into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. This agreement required the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and prohibited the introduction of foreign troops into Vietnam by anybody for any reason whatsoever and set down procedures for re-unification of Vietnam. Aptheker cited several quotations which indicated that the United States should withdraw its troops from Vietnam, recognize Vietnamese independence and allow for unification of North and South Vietnam.

Aptheker stated that he has reason to know that the Vietnamese take very seriously the agreements reached at the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the workers and Communist Parties of the world. There it was agreed that a prime task was to exert every effort to further the cause of national liberation and to prevent world war. Both were viewed as two sides of the same anti-colonial effort. The present struggle against the United States Government's policy of aggression in Vietnam is held to be exactly that kind of a struggle. This war in Vietnam, then, is an attempt at achievement of national liberation and prevention of world war by the North Vietnamese.

Aptheker advised that the Vietnamese emphasize the distinction between the American people and the current policy of the United States. They value most highly the impressive efforts for peace being waged by a segment of the American





Re: Herbert Aptheker

people and do not seek the defeat of the United States. They are not waging war against the United States and do not seek the destruction or capture of American cities. Instead, they are seeking to defeat the American aggression upon their soil. They seek to defeat the American Government's aggressive foreign policy as expressed in the bombing and burning of their country, and that is all they seek.

Aptheker called for a reversal of the present foreign policy of the United States, saying that such a reversal would be in the best interests of the people of Vietnam, of the United States and of the entire world. He called for a withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam; the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam; a reconvening of the Geneva Conference participants; and a general secret election in Vietnam supervised by the Geneva International Commission.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General

March 10, 1966

Director, FBI

REC. 13

EX-103 1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT — CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to your letter dated February 24, 1966, referring to the fact that the captioned individuals had apparently been interviewed in Hanoi, North Vietnam, by a correspondent of "The New York Times" and requesting advice as to the name of this correspondent and as to his availability and willingness to testify in the event prosecutive action is initiated in this case.

It has been determined that the interview referred to in your letter was conducted telephonically from Moscow, USSR, by the Associated Press Correspondent in that city. There is attached a copy of an article datelined December 31, at Moscow, entitled "U. S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull In Raids Produces No Reaction." This article which appeared in the January 1, 1966, issue of "The New York Times," clearly points out the details of this telephonic interview.

In view of the above facts and since the information sobtained by the Associated Press correspondent was based on a stelephonic interview as described, no attempt will be made to have this correspondent interviewed by the Department of State in Moscow in the absence of a specific request from you.

Enclosure

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		Date: 3/3/66
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Via	AIRTEL	1
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	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)
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deline deline del	FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)
ANARAY — Anaraha ang mangang ang ang ang ang ang	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY
		ReBuairtel to NY dated 2/28/66.
***************************************	in Vietna The Depar "New York	ReBuairtel to NY dated 2/28/66.  In letter from the Department dated reference is made to an interview of subjects m by a representative of the "New York Times". The tment requested advice as to the name of the Times" representative who interviewed the as well as his availability and willingness y.  Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of article entitled, "United States Leftist, in
7.	Hanoi, Sa article a 3. It is reflects Moscow Co was made	Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of article entitled, "United States Leftist, in ys Lull In Raids Produces No Reaction." This ppeared in the "New York Times" 1/1/66, page datelined Moscow, 12/31/66. The article a telephone interview with STAUGHTON LYND, by the rrespondent of the "New York Times." The call from Moscow to LYND in Hanoi. LYND spoke in himself, APTHEKER and HAYDEN. There is no

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MAR 4 1966

Approved: \_ Special Agent in Charge

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evidence that any personal interview with subjects in Hanoi was had by any MY newspaper correspondent.

It is believed further that the above telephone interview is the interview to which APTHEMER was refering when he said that he, LYND and HAYDES, were interviewed while in Hanoi by a representative of the "New York Times." This statement by APTHEMER is set forth in NY LHM dated 1/20/66, entitled, "CPUSA, ORGANIZATION - IS-C." Since the above was a telephonic contact with LYND from the Moscow Correspondent of the "New York Times", UACB no contact will be made with the "New York Times" to identify this correspondent by name.

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1 - Mr. Reddy

EX-101 62-11/9/1-3-1-11/

To:

SAC, New York

From:

Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT

Attached is a copy of a letter from the Department dated March 4, 1966, suggesting the feasibility of interviewing John McDermott, Associate Editor of "Viet Report," in an effort to establish the intent of Staughton Lynd to travel to North Vietnam;

Suairtel your observations and recommendations as to whether an interview should be conducted with McDermott.

Enclosure

EBR:jas (4)

MAR 15)

## NOTE:

Newspaper accounts of the recent unauthorized travel to North Vietnam by Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd and Thomas Hayden indicate that Lynd allegedly undertook this travel as a reporter for the magazine "Viet Report" which is published in New York City and which is critical of United States policy in Vietnam. Although McDermott, who is Associate Editor of this magazine has openly discussed with the press Lynd's travel to North Vietnam and his association with "Viet Report," it is felt, because of the nature of the magazine, that New York's observations and recommendations regarding an interview with McDermott should be obtained.

Tolson \_\_\_ DeLoach \_ Mohr \_\_ Nick \_\_

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Transmit th	e following in _	(Type in plain text or code)	
V1a	AIRTEL		
		(Priority or Method of Mailing	" 
	TO: FROM: SUBJECT:	STAUGHTON LYND; THOMAS HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY Enclosed herewith are 3 copies of	
	contains Washingto at the WS D.C., by needed as at five o	the speech of STAUGHTON LYND on 1/2 the speech of STAUGHTON LYND on 1/2 the Hilton Hotel. These publication P headquarters, 2016 P Street, N.W SA EDWARD C. RUDIGER on 3/7/66. No these pamphlets can be obtained or ents each.	24/66, at the s were obtained ., Washington, pretext was ver the counter
31	C3 - Burea 2 - WFO	in (Encl.3)   (cc to Dept 9:19) 10-44569) (10-14569) (10-14569)	(2-11/917-32 2-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-
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		Date: 3/7/66	
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/ia	AIRTEL	(Type the pittle sent of code)	,
		(Priority or Method of Mailing)	· -
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)	
	FROM:	SAC, WFO (100-45394) (P)	
	Subject:	HERBERT APTHEKER; STAUGHTON LYND; THOMAS HAYDEN; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM; MISUSE OF U.S. PASSPORT; LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY	MAN
	Bureau, w	Enclosed herewith are 10 copies of LHM for the 2 copies each for New Haven and New York	the
	LYND for to London	LHM describes request by ACLU attorney representation to the and Oslo.	resenting ravel
	and milit	LHM being disseminated locally to Secret S cary intelligence agencies.	ervice
	newby, /3/	Passport Office files reviewed by SA RICHA 4/66.	RD A.
	HAYDIN.	WFO maintaining contact with U.S. Departme ascertain dates of proposed hearings for LY    (Encl. 10)	nt of ND and
	2 - WFO	00-44061) (VIDEN)	
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Api	proved Specie	Sent M Per Mi Agent in Charge	**

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Date	 	
	3/8/66	

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	SAID	ROSENBAHM.					
							furnished
ine	IOTTOMING	information	on	March	3,	1966.	

While in Europe on a business trip in December, 1965, he had occasion to board Czechoslovak Air Lines Flight Number 502 which departed Prague, Czechoslovakia, for Moscow, Russia, on December 22, 1965. Observed by him at the airport in Prague prior to the departure of this flight on December 22, 1965, were APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN. Mr. ROSENBAUM identified photograph of these

individuals which was displayed to him.

Mr. ROSENBAUM did not engage in conversation with these individuals beyond a few casual words. He did not pay any direct attention to them. He was not aware that their ultimate destination was Viet Nam. Mr. ROSENBAUM recalls observing APTHEKER and LYND on the plane en route to Moscow and further recalls seeing LYND at the airport in Moscow when the passengers left this plane. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated that his observations do not preclude the possibility that all three took the same flight from Prague to Moscow and reached Moscow at the same time. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated that Czechoslovak Air Lines Flight 502 departed Prague at 4:40 PM and arrived in Moscow at about 8 PM on December 22, 1965. Mr. ROSENBAUM did not observe these individuals at any other time in Moscow or elsewhere than he has reported above. He is aware that they became the subjects of considerable newspaper publicity because of their journey to North Viet Nam. He has seen several photographs of these individuals in the local press.

On	3/3 <sup>t</sup> /66	7.1	NY 100-80532	ъ6 ъ70
by	SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL; arf	—_Date dictated	3/7/66	2,0



# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. WASHINGTON 25, D. C... March 7, 1966

#### HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON, LYND THOMAS, HAYDEN,

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS), as reviewed by a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on March 4, 1966, revealed that a letter had been received from one Edward J. Ennis, 165 Broadway, New York City, Concerning passport privileges of Staughton Lynd. Ennis, describing himself as a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), advised that organization has agreed to assist Lynd in his passport matters and that he and one David Carliner, Esquire, Washington, D.C., who is associated with the ACLU, have agreed to appear as Lynd's attorneys.

Ennis stated that he was requesting that Lynd be extended temporary passport facilities in order to go to London, England and Oslo, Norway, in April, 1966. He stated that Lynd has been invited by the Committee on Nuclear Disarmament to attend a meeting over the Easter weekend in London and has also been invited by the Norweigan Students Association to attend a teach-in on Vietnam in Oslo over the following weekend. He stated that Lynd expects to be away from the United States from about April 7, 1966, to April 18, 1966.

Ennis also requested the USDS to set up hearings on the cases of Lynd and Thomas Hayden as soon as possible. He was particularly anxious in Lynd's case in view of Lynd's desire to travel in early April.

As of March 4, 1966, no date had been set for the hearings of Lynd and Hayden and no action has been taken concerning the granting of temporary passport facilities to Lynd.

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		Date: 3/8/88
Transmit the foll	owing in	
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V1a	AIRTEL	
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	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)
(F1)	FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)
رن ا	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG. LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN REC. UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIET NAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT-CONSPIRACY
•		$\int$
1.4	New York	Re Bureau airtel to New York 2/23/66 and airtel to Bureau 3/1/66.
	furnished names and Air India B. GILL, Purser.	a, JFK International Airport, Queens, NY, it to SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL on 3/2/66, the whereabouts of two of the crew members of a Flight 116, 12/19/65. They were respectively Flight Purser and M. SHANDAS, Assistant Flight Results of contacts with Mr. GILL and Mr. SHANDAS, forth below.
	and Engine with the could furthe rest air host are not at least	Mr. GOVINDAN stated that the cockpit crew, of the Commander, Flight Officer, Navigator neer, would on a normal flight have no contact passengers and it was extremely unlikely they rnish any pertinent information in this case. of the crew on this flight consisted of four esses who are now based in Bombay, India, and expected to return to the United States for three months.  (RM)(1-VCLS, 5) ENCLOSURE
-	2-Newark 1-New Yo	vèn (100-18293) (EncIs. 2) (RM)         (100-48095) (EncIs. 2) (RM)       Z MAR 9 1966         rk (100-110521) (STAUGHTON LYND)         rk (100-148904) (THOMAS HAYDEN)
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Approved:		SentM Per
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NY 100-80532

In view of the above, no further effort will be made at this time by NYO to contact additional members of the crew.

MIKE SHANDAS, Assistant Flight Purser, Air India, was contacted 3/2/66, at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, NYC. Mr. SHANDAS stated he served as Assistant Flight Purser on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, en route from JFK International Airport, London, England. Mr. SHANDAS was shown photographs of above subjects, but stated that he could neither identify them nor recall them by name. Mr. SHANDAS stated he had no recollection of these individuals whatsoever.

Mr. B. GILL, Flight Purser, Air India, was similarly contacted at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, NYC, on 3/2/66. GILL acknowledged that he was part of the crew on Air India Flight 116, 12/19/65, but he could not recall the subjects. GILL stated he could not identify photographs of the subject which were displayed to him.

Enclosed for Bureau and offices listed are copies of FD 302 setting forth information furnished by SAUL ROSENBAUM on 3/3/66. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated that he is willing to be interviewed by a Departmental attorney, but would prefer not to testify in court for business reasons. Mr. ROSENBAUM stated the parents of STAUGHTON LYND reside in one of the company's buildings, namely 75 Central Park West, NYC, an apartment building.

The following American passengers aboard Air India Flight 116 which departed JFK International Airport on 12/19/65, for London were interviewed:

HARRY and LILY GOLDSMITH, were contacted on 3/2/66. They advised that they were aboard Air India Flight 116 on 12/19/65, en route from New York to London. They stated that they did not know anyone on the flight and had no conversation with anyone aboard, except the flight personnel.

Mr. DENIS P. BISCHOFF

| was contacted on 3/2/66. He advised that he is employed by Air India, but that he was not on Air Flight 116 on 12/19/65, en route from New York to London. He did not make the trip.

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Mrs. JERE T. FARRAH,

was interviewed 3/2/66. She stated

that she travelled with her husband to London on Air

India Flight 116, 12/19/65. They travelled First Class
and had no contact with Economy class passengers. It

should be noted that APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN travelled

Economy class on this flight. Mrs. FARRAH stated that
neither she nor her husband had any pertinent information
to furnish concerning captioned individuals. She could
not identify photographs of the subject as anyone she
had observed aboard this flight.

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Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General
Director, FBI

| 1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT — CONSPIRACY

Reference is made to my letter dated March 1, 1966, regarding the availability of certain informants and sources of this Bureau for interview by Department attorneys and for possible future testimony in the captioned matter.

The source mentioned in paragraph one, page two, of referenced letter as having attended the meeting at Manhattan Center, New York City, on January 16, 1966, has advised that for purely personal reasons he does not desire to be interviewed by Department attorneys or to be considered as a potential witness in this case.

It has been determined, however, that Miss Rasa Gustaitis, a reporter for the "New York Herald Tribune," covered the January 16, 1966, meeting for her newspaper. A copy of an article prepared by Miss Gustaitis entitled "5,000 Hear Prof. Lynd Defen& Trip to Hanoi" is attached. As indicated, this article appeared in the January 17, 1966, edition of the "New York Herald Tribune."

As you will recall, Miss Gustaitis also covered the press conference held by the subjects upon their return to the United States on January 9, 1966, and she has indicated a willingness to testify to the statements made by subjects at this press conference. In this regard, your attention is directed to page 33 of the report of Special Agent Vincent J. Ascherl dated January 25, 1966, at New York, New York, captioned as above.

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	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974) atc.	_
150	FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)	1
by Letter Per FOIA I	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIET NAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT-CONSPIRACY  DATE  HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER APPROPRIATE ACTIVITIES ADVISID EY ROUTING SLIP(E) OF DATE	2
Copy Sen er //- ' A Request	specific:	Re NY airtel to Bureau dated 3/27 . White was ally determined from him that he is unwilling	***
ent Sus Missississ	to testi. Department an unfavor his presion In superior informan 1/16/66;	fy in this matter or to be interviewed by a ntal attorney.  stated that he fears orable reaction on the part of his superiors at ent employment,  formant expressed the opinion that his present is might be "shocked" at the revelation that that attended the Manhattan Center Meeting on and they might not be impressed with the fact ormant attended this meeting at the behest of further stated that he lives in and some of his neighbors	<b>`</b> .
Take of the state	the abov might br of his f	aintances might be sympathetic to the cause of e subjects. Any testimony that he would give ing recriminations against himself and members amily, if not bodily harm in the NYO, it	こり / ム
· \	is not r Departme  4 Bureau 1-New Yo 1-New Yo	recommended that his name be furnished to the ent for consideration as a witness ARR 1936  (Encis. 2) FARMLOSURF (ADM) (42)	7
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Enclosed for Bureau are two xerox cooles of Herald Tribune article entitled \$5,000 Hear From 1000 Lar From 1000 Defend Trip To Hanoi. This appeared to Revolu Tribune. 1/17/66, Page 5 and was written by report to 110, 005 HIIS of the Herald Tribune staff. In this trible Files GUSTAITIS covers the meeting at Manhattan Center of 1/16/66, at which above subjects spoke. In the report of SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL dated 1/25/66 on Page 33 appears an interview with Miss GUSTAITIS in which she reported on the press conference given by subjects at JFK International Airport, 1/9/66; it will be noted that RAGA GUSTAITIS stated she would be willing to testify.

The Bureau may wish to furnish this information to the Department with a copy of the attached newspaper article.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

:Mr. W. C. Sullivan

F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT

LOGAN ACT

DATE. 3/15/66

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Papich

1 - Mr. Bartlett

1 - Mr. Reddy

MAN

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Rosen — Sullivan Tavel —

Trotter \_\_\_\_ Tele. Room

**Holmes** 

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On March 14, 1966, Department Attorney Brandon Alvey discussed with Supervisor E. B. Reddy the status of the captioned case which involves the recent unauthorized travel to Communist China and North Vietnam by Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden. Alvey stated that for some reason, possibly the recent heavy flow of Congressional inquiries, the case "has heated up again."

Alvey noted that despite the recent public admissions by the three subjects, particularly Aptheker and Lynd, that they did in fact travel to Communist China and North Vietnam, the proof of their specific intent to do so at the time they left the United States remains the big problem. Alvey said that although he personally feels the Government could prove this intent by the preponderance of circumstantial evidence the Bureau has already developed, he wanted to assure that every avenue of establishing this element by direct evidence had been explored.

Alvey reviewed the tape recording obtained by the Washington Field Office of a speech by Lynd at the Washington Hilton Hotel on 1/25/66. and felt that several admissions by Lynd might be of value to establish intent. Alvey requested that appropriate inquiry be made to determine whether the hotel management would have any objection to the tapes being utilized at the trial or to the testimony of the hotel security officer who recorded the speech.

Alvey then inquired whether there was any possibility

What either the State Department "might have someone"

who observed the subjects in Peking or Hanoi and he requested

"in order that no possibility be overlooked" that this possibility be explored with State

REC-21

MAR 18 1966

EBR: jas (7)

CONTINUED - OVER

CHOCK WING COURS AGOS GENERAL

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER
STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND
THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Alvey also referred to the information furnished by the Bureau regarding the interview with the subjects in Hanoi on December 31, 1965, which was conducted telephonically by an Associated Press reporter in Moscow. Alvey requested that the reporter be identified and interviewed by the Department of State for complete details regarding this telephonic interview, including the mechanics of the call and whether the reporter could possibly make voice identifications. pointed out to Alvey that Peter Grose of "The New York Times" had filed a story from Moscow regarding a press conference held by the subjects at the Moscow Airport on January 8, 1966, when they were en route back to the United States. Alvey reviewed this story and requested that Grose also be interviewed by the Department of State with particular emphasis on any admissions by subjects that they realized that they might be subject to prosecution as a result of their trip.

Alvey also referred to information furnished by the Bureau regarding a cable allegedly sent from Hanoi by the subjects on January 4, 1966. This cable, addressed to Senator Fulbright; requested an opportunity for the group to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after they returned to the United States. Alvey requested that inquiry be made to determine the mechanics of transmitting a cable from Hanoi to Washington, D. C., and to determine whether a copy of this cable would be available under subpoena duces tecum from the company which handled the transmittal and delivery.

Alvey was advised that the above requests would be promptly handled and the results furnished to the Department.

#### OBSERVATIONS:

#### ACTION:

For information. You will be kept advised of developments in this case.

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1 - Mr. Reddy

To:

SAC, New York

From:

Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT

/Reurairtel 3/3/66.

The Department has requested the identity of the Associated Press reporter in Moscow who conducted the telephonic interview with subject Lynd in Hanoi on 12/31/65. The article regarding this interview appeared in the January 1, 1966, edition of "The New York Times" captioned "U.S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull in Raids Produces No Reaction."

Your attention is directed to an article in the January 9, 1966, issue of "The New York Times" captioned "Lynd Says Hanoi Denies Getting a Direct U. S. Bid." This article is datelined 1/8/66 at Moscow and was written by Peter Grose. It relates to a press conference held by the subjects at the Moscow Airport on January 8, 1966, while they were en route back to the United States. The possibility exists that Peter Grose may be the reporter who conducted the telephonic interview with Lynd on 12/31/66.

Expedite.

EBR: jas (4)

NOTE: Above information requested by Department Attorney

To, ion \_\_\_\_\_\_ Brandon Alvey on 3/14/66.,

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1 - Mr. Reddy

To:

SAC, Washington Field

From:

Director, FBI

HERBERT APTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT

Reurairtel 2/21/66 transmitting tape recordings of the speech made by Staughton Lynd at the Washington Hilton Hotel on the evening of 1/24/66.

After reviewing these recordings, Department Attorney Brandon Alvey requested that inquiry be made to determine whether the management of the hotel has any objections to the utilization of these recordings and to the testimony of Security Officer James McGovern at a possible future trial of this case.

In addition, Department Attorney Alvey made reference to the fact that on approximately 1/4/66 subjects directed a cablegram from Hanoi to Senator William Fulbright in Washington, D. C., requesting an opportunity to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Department Attorney Alvey requested that investigation be conducted to ascertain the identity of the company which handled the cablegram in Washington, D. C., and to determine whether the company's copy of the cablegram will be available for production under a subpoena duces tecum in the event this case should go to trial. It has been determined that either Western Union, International Telephone and Telegraph Company or the Radio Corporation of America would have handled this cablegram in Washington, D. C.

Handle above investigation expeditiously and suairtel. 62 - 1/1917 - 38

NOTE: Above information requested by Department Attorney Brandon Alvey on 3/14/66.

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1 - Mr. Reddy

To:

SAC, New York

From:

Director, FBI

HERBERT AFTHEKER
STAUGHTON LYND
THOMAS HAYDEN
UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM
MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT
LOGAN ACT

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Page six of the 1/11/66 issue of "The Worker" contains an article entitled "Aptheker Statement Prior to Trip." This article quotes a statement allegedly issued to the press by Aptheker before leaving for North Vietnam on December 19, 1965.

Since such a statement clearly indicates specific intent by Aptheker to violate the travel restrictions on his United States passport prior to leaving the United States, you should ascertain whether any of the legitimate New York City newspapers received a copy of Aptheker's statement and whether it received press comment prior to Aptheker's departure from New York City for Vietnam on December 19, 1965.

Expedite.

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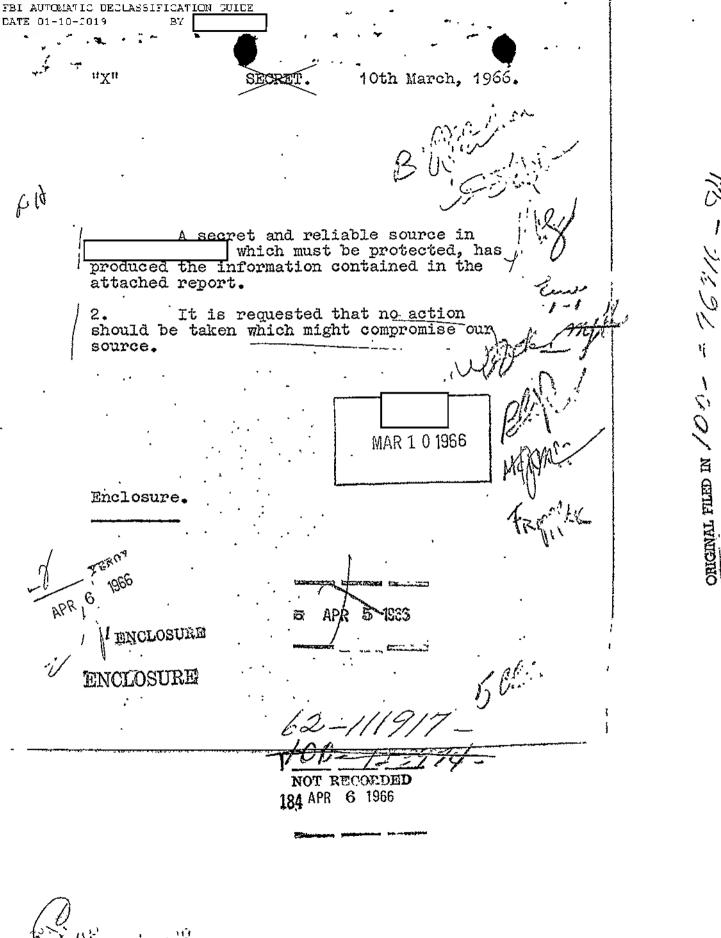
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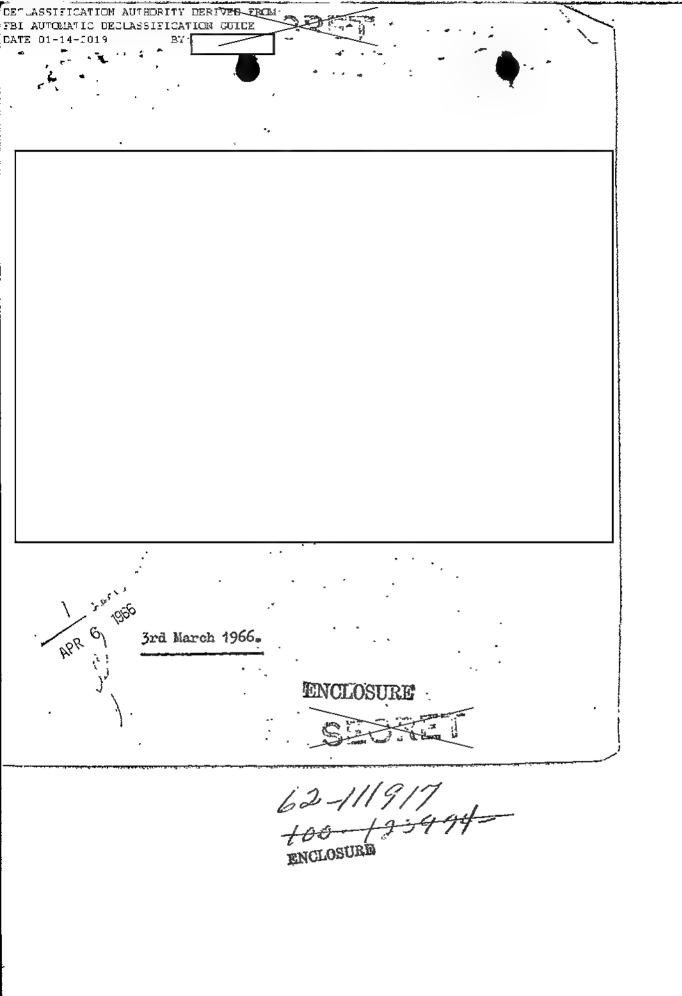
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OPTIONAL FORK NO. 10 1962 EDITION GEN. REG. NO. 27 Tolson UNITED STATES GO MemorandumCollabas Contad Felt Gale Rosen DATE-March 21. 1966 Sulfsyffe & Tável? Trotter 1 - DeLoach Tele. Room FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner 1 - Mohr Holmes - Wick - Sullivan SUBJECT: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER 1 - Baumgardner - Reddy = Fit STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT By letter to the Director dated 3/15/66 William F. Buckley, Vice President of Curtis Publishing Company and a former Vice President and Director of Henry Holt Publishing Company, expressed concern at the fact that Herbert Eugene Aptheker, Staughton Craig Lynd, and Thomas Emmett Havden have not been prosecuted as a result of their recent unauthorized and highly publicized trip to Communist China and North Vietnam. Buckley said that he had written to the Attorney General in this regard and that his letter had been answered by Assistant Attorney General Yeagley on 3/15/66 and that Yeagley said, "About all we can say at this time is that the FBI is still investigating these matters." Buckley expressed the feeling that the FBI must have long since finished its investigation and he requested any information which could be furnished to The Director inquired. "What about this?" Facts Regarding Investigation Before Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden left the U.S. on 12/19/65. we furnished the Departments of Justice and State, information regarding their proposed travel. While they were actually in North Vietnam, we specifically requested advice from the Internal Security Division on 1/5/66 as to whether an investigation should be conducted looking toward a possible violation of any Federal statutes. By letters 1/10 & 14/66 the Department of Justice requested specific investigation by the Bureau which was completed and submitted to the Department by the report dated 1/25/66. Subsequently, on 2/4, 9 & 15/66 the Department requested additional investigation, as well as information regarding the availability of certain witnesses, all of which was furnished to the Department on 3/1/66 700-1237/14 On 3/14/66 Department Attorney Brandon Alvey orally discussed this case with Supervisor E. B. Reddy, as met contain Enclosure CONTINUED---OVER EBR:pah 9-22-66 (7)COPY SENT TO ME. TOLSON 106

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Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, et al.

memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan dated 3/15/66. At that time Alvey noted that the proof of specific intent by the subjects, at the time they left the U. S., to proceed to Communist China, and North Vietnam, remained a problem. Alvey said that, although he personally felt that the Government could prove specific intent by the preponderance of circumstantial evidence already developed by the Bureau, nevertheless, he wanted to assure that every avenue of establishing this element by direct evidence had been explored.

Accordingly, Alvey requested additional investigation, including identifying and having the Department of State interview a reporter in Moscow who had talked to the subjects by telephone while they were in Hanoi; ascertain whether State "had someone in Peking or Hanoi who might have personally observed subjects during their stay in these cities; attempting to locate a copy of a cablegram sent by the subjects from Hanoi on 1/4/66 to Senator William Fulbright requesting an appearance before the Foreign Relations Committee; and ascertaining the availability for possible use at a trial of a tape recording of a speech by Lynd in Washington, D. C., on 1/24/66. The Liaison Section and the New York and Washington Field Offices were immediately instructed to expeditiously conduct this additional investigation and to submit the results to the Bureau. When this investigation has been completed, however, it will still take additional time for State to interview the reporter in Moscow.

#### **OBSERVATIONS:**

It appears that the Department of Justice is, in fact, "shying away from this case" since Aptheker, Lynd, and Hayden have claimed that they were merely following the policy of the Administration to "knock on any door" in an effort to settle the Vietnam situation. Accordingly, the Department is continuing to request additional investigation, much of which is "farfetched," but which we will, nevertheless, be obliged to conduct. The decision as to prosecutive action in this case remains solely with the Department.

### Proposed Reply to Buckley

It is felt that Buckley should be advised that we have conducted extensive investigation in this case and have furnished the results to the Department of Justice which is solely responsible for initiating any prosecutive action and that Buckley be further advised that it is true that the Department recently requested the Bureau to conduct additional extensive investigation which is currently being conducted and the results of which will also be promptly furnished to the Department of Justice.

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan Re: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER, et al.

Buckley is not on the Bureau's mailing list, but our relations with him have been cordial and he was furnished a raw tographed copy of "Masters of Deceit."

### RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be transmitted to Mr. Buckley.

- 3 -

		Tolson
	UNITED STATES GOORNMENT	DeLoach Mohr Wick
	Memorandum	Casper Callahan Conrad
то :	Mr. D. J. Brennan, DATE: 3/21/66	Felt
FROM .	S. J. Papich	Troller Tele. Room Holmes Gandy
SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT	De la constante de la constant
	Reference is made to memorandum dated 3/15/66, from Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan.	1367
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	ACTION:	
	The above information is being directed to the attention of the Internal Security Section.	*
	1 - Mr. Baumgardner (Reddy) 1 - Liaison 1 - Mr. Papich	Miss !
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_		Date: <b>3/21/66</b>
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Via	AIRTEL	
,_		(Priority or Method of Mailing)
	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)
	FROM:	SAC, WFO (100-45394) (P)
	SUBJECT:	HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT
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	D.C., adverto the uter due to the that if the government	Security Officer JAMES McGOVERN, Washington Hilton nnecticut Avenue and Columbia Road, N.W., Washington, ised on 3/18/66 that officials of that hotel object ilization of the recording and testimony of McGOVERN e possible adverse publicity. He stated, however, he recordings become "absolutely vital to the t's case," the management will reconsider the matter ng testimony, regardless of possible resulting ublicity.
124 Cer-261	should be Western U	that the cablegram mentioned in referenced that the cablegram mentioned in referenced shandled by Western Union. Subpoena duces tecum directed to Mr. ROSCOE W. GRIGGS, Regional Manager, nion, 1405 G Street, N.W., in the event file copy for trial.
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FROM: PA	SAC, NEW HAVEN	(100-15601)	(P)	Res Cal
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Sent -

Special Agent in Charge

March 22, 1966

William E. Buckley

1 - Mr. DeLoach

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1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. Wick

- Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Reddy

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I received your letter of March 18, 1966, and greatly appreciated your kind comment concerning my book, "Masters of Deceit." It was a pleasure to have had an opportunity to autograph a copy-for you.

I can well understand your concern about the status of the matter involving the unauthorized and illegal travel to Hanoi by the individuals you mentioned in your letter. The Federal Bureau of Investigation immediately conducted extensive investigation into the matter and furnished the results of that investigation to the Department of Justice. Recently, the Department of Justice requested this Bureau to conduct additional investigation. is being done on an expedite basis, and the results are being furnished promptly to the Department as received. The final determination as to when and if prosecutive action will be initiated is, of course, to be made by the Department of Justice. All that this Bureau can do at this point is respond to the requests of the Department in an effort to obtain the evidence which it feels is necessary to make that determination.

I hope the foregoing will be of assistance

to you.

100-123974

CDB/pcn

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Casper L Cattahan Gale

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 3/21/66 re Herbert Eugene Aptheker, Staughton Craig Lynd, Thomas Hayden, Unauthorized Travel to North Vietnam, NOTE:

EBR/pah.

MAIL ROOM 🔲 TELETYPE UNIT 📖

MAR 221966

DeLoach 💄 Wick

Tele -f

Mr. Felt Mr. Trotter March 18, 1966 Tele. Room. Miss Holmes... Miss Gandy. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Pennsylvania Avenue and Ninth Street Washington, D. C. 20535 Dear Mr. Hoover: My last association with you was when I was a Vice President and Director of Henry Holt and Company and we published your fine book, MASTERS OF DECEIT. I have an autographed copy of which I am very proud. The purpose of this letter is to pursue some written information I have from the Department of Justice. Some time ago I wrote to Attorney General Katzenbach asking to know what the Department of Justice intended to do about Messrs. Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden UNHECORDED COPY FILED IN and their unauthorized and illegal visit to Hanoi. Mr. Katzenbach referred the letter to one Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley who has been giving me a pleasant but uninformed series of responses, and to quote from his last letter dated March 15, he says, "About all that we can say at this time is that the FBI is still investigating these matters." He told me the same thing some weeks ago, and I am certain the FBI has long since finished, their investigation of these three men. at about this ? My only interest is in seeing justice done, and I think it is outrageous that Staughton Lynd and Company continue to pursue their usual procedures without our Government taking any action. REC- 82\_\_ Any information you can give me will he apprecia wishes. MAR 23 1965 Sincerely, William EABuckl I am presently a Vice President of The Curtis Rul Company but my interest in this matter is purely personal. MAR 21 1966.

WILLIAM E.BUCKLEY

Mrl Casper... Mr. Callahan

Mr. Conrad

'Mr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General March 23, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT

The following information is being furnished pursuant to the request of Department Attorney Brandon Alvey on March 14, 1966.

With reference to the utilization of the tape recording of Staughton Craig Lynd's speech at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., on January 24, 1966, the hotel's Security Officer, James McGovern, has advised that hotel officials object both to the use of the tape recording and the testimony of McGovern at a possible future trial "due to possible adverse publicity." McGovern added, however, that, if the recording and his testimony become "absolutely vital to the Government's case." the hotel management will reconsider the problem.

With reference to the cablegram sent by subjects from Hanoi to Senator William C. Fulbright, requesting an opportunity to appear before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, it has been determined that this cablegram was handled by Western Union. A subpoena duces tecum

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Mohr .

Wick Casper.

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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

Sullivan Tavel Troffer

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General

should be directed to Mr. Roscoe W. Griggs, Regional Manager, Western Union, 1405 G Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., in the event the file copy of this cablegram is needed for trial purposes. Attached for your information is a typed facewile of the cablegram in question.

The additional investigation requested by Mr. Alvey is being handled expeditiously and the results will be transmitted in the immediate future.

Enclosure

#### NOTE:

Memorandum 3/15/66 from Baumgardner to Sullivan reported the discussion with Department Attorney Alvey regarding the status of this case and set out the additional investigation requested by Alvey. The only remaining item consists of the identification by the New York Office of the Associated Press reporter in Moscow who interviewed the subjects telephonically from Moscow while they were in Hanoi. When the identity of this reporter is ascertained, the Department of State will be requested to expeditiously interview him with reference to this telephone call.

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General

March 31, 1966

们识

Director, FBI

**REC-24** 

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT - CONSPIRACY

Pursuant to the request of Mr. Brandon Alvey on March 14, 1966, it has been determined that Henry Bradsher is the Associated Press reporter who conducted a telephonic interview with Staughton Craig Lynd from Moscow, Russia, to Hanoi, North Vietnam, on December 31, 1965. The substance of Bradsher's interview was reported in "The New York Times" of January 1, 1966, in an article entitled "U.S. Leftist, in Hanoi, Says Lull In Raids Produces No Reaction."

In view of the recent action of the Department of State in the passport matter involving Professor Henry Stuart Hughes, this Bureau does not deem it advisable to request the Department of State to obtain from Bradsher the complete details regarding his telephonic interview with Lynd. The Department of Justice, however, may desire to initiate such a request.

Mr. Alvey's attention was called, on March 14, 1966, to an article in "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper, on January 11, 1966, entitled "Aptheker Statement Prior to Trip," which purported to be a statement prepared by Aptheker for the press prior to his departure from the United States on December 19, 1965. A review has been made of the clipping file of "The New York Times" for the period December 17 through December 22, 1965, and it was determined that these issues contained no statement issued to the press by Aptheker prior to his departure from the United States. Arrangements have been made to review the microfilm copies of other New York City daily newspapers for the same period and, if it is determined that any of these newspapers received a copy of Aptheker's statement to the press, inquiry will be instituted to determine complete details.

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Callahan Conrad

Tele Room Holmes

EBR/pah:pcn

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General

March 22, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Reddy

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT LOGAN ACT

Attached for your information is a copy of the January, 1966, issue of the magazine "Viet Report."

It will be noted that Staughton Lynd is listed as a member of the Advisory Board of "Viet Report" and that practically the entire issue is devoted to the material gathered by Lynd and Thomas Hayden during their recent trip to North Vietnam. A report submitted by Herbert Eugene Aptheker is to be carried in a future issue of this magazine.

Enc.

EBR: jas (4)

REC. 4862-11/9/7\_ 1/5 MAILED A MAR 22 1966 COMM.FBI 19 MAR 23 1956

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	TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974)
1 1/1/2	FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)
	SUBJECT:	HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIET NAM MISUSE OF PASSPORT LOGAN ACT-CONSPIRACY
1		ReBuairtels, 3/16/66.
Think I Share	PIaza, NY for Assoc was the r Moscow to substance "New York Leftist I Reaction"	SHERMAN MC NALLY, Administrative Assistant, Department, Associated Press, 50 Rockefeller Cyladvised 3/22/66 that HENRY BRADSHER, reporter iated Press, in charge of their Moscow Bureau, eporter who telephoned STAUGHTON LYND from Hanoi on 12/31/65. It is noted that the of the telephone interview is reported in the Times", 1/1/66, in article entitled "U.S. n Hanoi Says Lull In Raids Produces No . Mr. MC NALLY stated that HENRY BRADSHER e to return to the US for at least three years.
200	communica	NYO Indices reflect a tion to the Bureau. dated 4/23/65. entitled
12 A AS 111 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	of HENRY with Mrs. Pennsylva introduce	This tion reflects that Mrs. MONICA BRADSHER, wife BRADSHER, during January, 1965, was in contact OLGA LANG of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, nia. The purpose of this contact was to Mrs. LANG to GUSTA SYVERTSEN, wife of GEORGE It does not appear that the information
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Special Agent in Charge

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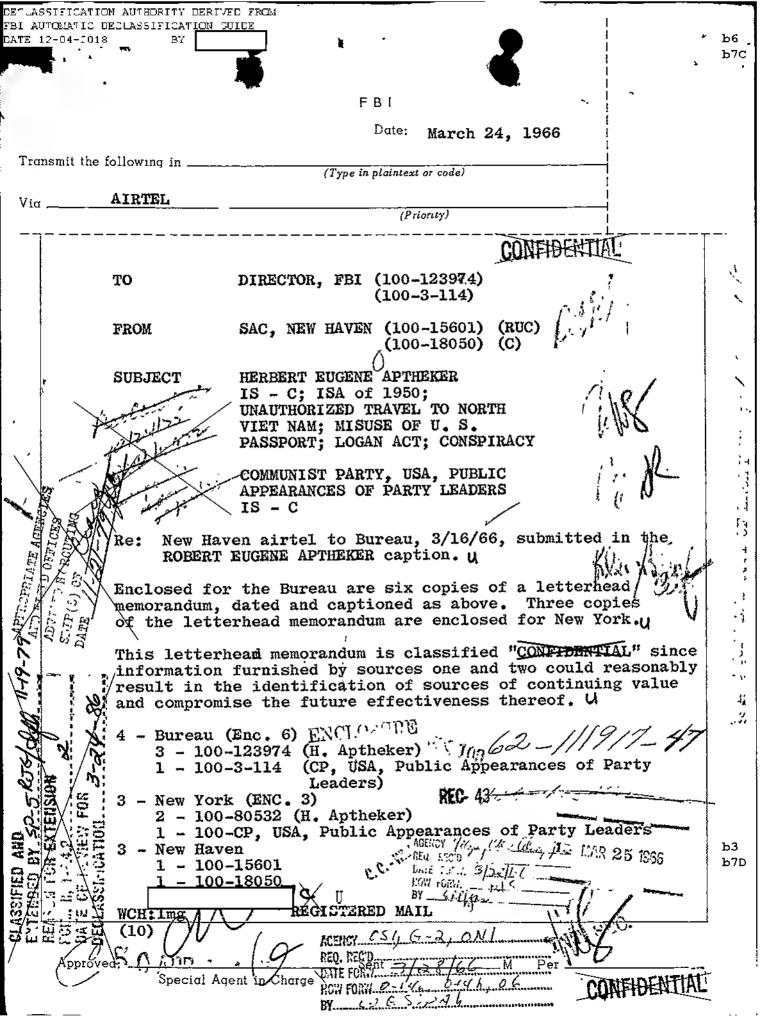
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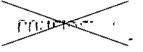
would preclude an interview with MENRY BRADSHER by the Bureau if such is requested by the Department. It should be noted, however, that Mr. BRADSHER is not expected back in the US during the next three year period.

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With reference to "The Worker" article, 1/11/56, entitled "Aptheker Statement Prior To Trip", review was made of the clipping file at "New York "imes", 229 West 43rd Street, NYC, for the period 12/17 t 22/55. These issues contained no statement issued to the press by APTHEKER prior to his departure for Hanoi on Cember 19, 1965. It should be noted that microilm copies of other NY Dailies for the period 12/17 to 22/5 are not at present available at the Newspaper that these issues will be microfilmed within the next three week. at which time a review will be made and the Bureau will be promptly advised.



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The source who furnished information as set forth in the letter-head memorandum are as follows:

Informant

First Source,

Second Source,

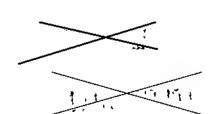
Location

Characterizations of SIDNEY RESNICK and SIDNEY TAYLOR

has advised that he arrived at the meeting at which APTHEKER spoke on March 18, 1966, just as APTHEKER began his address; consequently, he did not hear how the latter was introduced to those present. He advised, however, that APTHEKER was described as a "Peace Delegate," as set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum.

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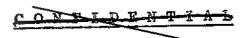


In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

March 24, 1966

New Haven, Connecticut



#### HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER

All organizations listed in this memorandum are characterized in the Appendix Section.

On March 21, 1966, a source furnished the following information:

HERBERT APTHEKER delivered a lecture at 37 Howe Street, New Haven, Connecticut, on the evening of March 18, 1966. His appearance was sponsored by the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs and the Jewish Program Service Committee. A charge of fifty cents was collected from each of those in attendance, who numbered approximately ome hundred, and SIDNEY RESNICK acted as Master of Ceremonies. SIDNEY TAYLOR was also among those present.

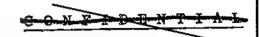
> On March 23, 1965, a second source advised that SIDNET RESNICK is in charge of the distribution of Communist Party literature within the Communist Party of Connecticut

> On January 2, 1964, the second source advised that SIDNEY TAYLOR was a member of the State Board, Communist Party of Connecticut.

According to the first source, APTHEKER spoke as a "Peace Delegate" and was so labled by a small sign placed on the wall of the room in which he appeared. He told those present that North Viet Nam was very anxious to have peace; however, unless peace terms kept them completely independent, they would "fight to the end." He said that he (APTHEKER)

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### RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER



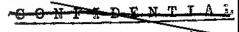
did not believe in retribution but that he sincerely believed that the United States "had it coming to them" for the Fole this country is now playing in Southeast Asia.

APTHEKER quoted WALTER LIPPMAN, the newspaper columnist, as having stated that the United States has no business in South Viet Nam and he added that the officials of North Viet Nam would gladly give the United States a chance to bow out of that country "gracefully" as they once had done with the Chinese, many years ago. According to APTHEKER, the main reason there are no Chinese actually fighting in South Viet Nam is the fact that the spirit of independence is so great, and the people of Viet Nam are such a proud people, that they have not asked for help. APTHEKER said that he had seen equipment in Viet Nam which had been supplied by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, China and quite a bit supplied by France.

According to the source, APTHEKER commented on the past history of the Vietnamese, which he described as an ancient culture.

One of those present asked APTHEKER to describe the "real truth" about the aims of communism in the world. He replied that an answer to this question would require a "long time," but that briefly, the Marxist approach was very positive in nature. He explained that the Marxists believe that "there shall be work, there shall be peace, there shall be care for the aged." He said that as a contrast to this, the Bill of Rights uses a negative approach by specifying that "Congress shall not, Congress shall not, and so forth."

According to the source, one of those present inquired as to whether the assassination of President JOHN F. KENNEDY had been a part of "a large plot." APTHEKER replied that he had not heard of such a plot; however, if such a plot existed, it probably would have been that of a "rightist movement." He said that he had not been satisfied with the warren Report and that he was not satisfied that LEE HARVEY OSWALD had been the murderer of President KENNEDY.

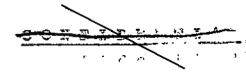


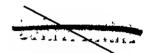
#### RE: HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER



Viet Nam are more similar than residents of Maine and Georgia and he added that one of the North Viet Nam generals is a native of South Viet Nam. He said that many of the South Vietnamese soldiers were fighting for North Viet Nam while remaining in the vicinity of their homes in South Viet Nam. He said that North Viet Nam has an army of 400,000 soldiers, which they have not called upon. He stated that the government of South Viet Nam is vicious and unstable and that the big mistake being made by the United States is the fact that this country refuses to recognize the National Liberation Front as spokesman for the people of Viet Nam.

According to the source, APTHEKER did not mention any details or specific personal facts regarding his recent trip to Hanoi during the course of his appearance at New Haven, Connecticut.





### APPENDIX

JEWISH CULTURAL CLUBS AND SOCIETIES, aka: Jewish Program Service Committee, New Haven Branch

1.

A source advised on July 5, 1956, that a new group in New Haven, Connecticut, the Jovish Cultural and Benevolent Society, sponsored a series of five lectures for the winter season of 1955-1956, beginning October 21, 1955, and ending April 6, 1956. This source stated on February 24, 1958, that the Jewish Cultural and Bonevolent Society is also known as the New Haven Cultural Club, the Jewish School and Culture Organization, and the Jewish Culture and Aid Society.

This source advised that all members of this organization, to the source's knowledge, are former members of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and, in view of this, the source considered the Jewish Cultural and Benevolent Society as the successor organization to the Jewish People's Fraternal Order in New Haven.

This source advised that the group held regular business meetings and forum series meetings up to and including 1958, at 37 Howe Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

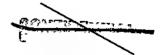
The Jewish People's Fraternal Order has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A second source advised on May 18, 1965, that the Jewish Cultural and Benevolent Society, also known as the Jewish Program Service Committee, holds regular meetings from the fall through late spring or early summer. During the winter season, they sponsor "open forum" type meetings at which national speakers talk on various phases of Jewish culture and national affairs.

This group is composed of approximately thirty-five elderly Jewish men and women who were formerly members of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order.



2.



JEWISH CULTURAL CLUBS AND SOCIETIES, aka. Jewish Program Service Committee, New Haven Branch

The Jewish Cultural and Benevolent Society has completed its regular "open forum" series for the 1964-1965 season. However, some of the members continue to meet on Friday nights.

According to this second source, during the summer months, the members of this group meet in an informal manner for the purpose of social picnics and outings.

A third source advised on May 24, 1965, that the individuals responsible for planning and carrying out activities of the New Haven, Connecticut, Branch, Jewish Program Service Committee, are known as persons who are strong adherents to Communist Party (CP) ideological beliefs. This source stated that each year this organization co-sponsors or sponsors meetings which provide a ready platform for CP and pro-Communist speakers on a national and local level to espouse the CP line.

This source advised that the New Haven Branch of this organization is an affiliate of the national organization of the Jewish Program Service Committee and sends delegates to affairs sponsored by the national organization.

1.

# EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS

"The Jewish Fraternalist" dated October, 1947, self-identified as the official publication of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPFO) of the International Workers Order (IWO), on page 6, contained an article which reflected that the Emma Lazarus Division (ELD) of the JPFO was to hold its first national convention in New York City on November 15 and 16, 1947, after having been first established at a National Women's Conference called three years previously by the JPFO.

The "Morning Freiheit" on January 25, 1951, contained a report of the National Convention of the ELD of the JPFO which took place in New York City on January 20, and 21, 1951. At this convention it was noted that the ELD changed its name to Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs (ELF) and adopted a new constitution.

On May 18, 1965, a source advised that the ELF is one of the several mass organizations comprising the Jewish cultural progressive movement. JUNE GORDON, ELF Executive Director, who is a member of the New York State Communist Party (CP) Board and Committee, is the leading force in the organization, whose leadership is largely made up of Communists.

The source stated that the ELF claims to be for peace and interested in protecting the rights of the foreign born. It is against the BEN GURION Government of Israel, bomb testing, anti-Semitism, Negro discrimination, and the rearmament of West Germany.

The source related that the ELF renders support to and receive support from the "Morning Freiheit" and other Jewish progressive organizations.

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## EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS

The source also stated that the ELF is recognized by the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), as an important progressive national organization of women.

The address of the national office of the ELF is 160 Fifth Avenue, Room 911, New York City.

The IWO and JPFO have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "Morning Freiheit:"

- "1. A 'Communist Yiddish daily'. (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional, Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686).
- "2. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 75.)"



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### EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION ON JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS. NEW HAVEN SRANCH

A source reported on August 16, 1953, that included in a listing of local clubs of the Erma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs, which had been formed and were currently active, there was a club listed for New Haven, Connecticut.

A second source, on May 18, 1965, advised that the Emma Lazarus Club of Nov Havon, Connecticut, holds regular meetings during the period from fall through late spring or early summer. Cultural-type meetings are held separately and feature national speakers who talk on Jewish culture and national issues.

This organization holds one or two runnage sales each year to raise funds. The regular cultural-type meetings for the 1964-65 season have been completed, but some of the members continue to meet on a weekly basis, usually for a social affair. During the summer months, the members meet in an informal manner for the purpose of social picnics and outings. The membership of this club consists of approximately twenty-five elderly Jewish women.

A third source advised on May 24, 1965, that the New Haven Branch of the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jevish Women's Clubs is affiliated with the national organization of the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jevish Women's Clubs. The source stated the leaders and nembers of the New Haven Branch are persons who he knows to be in sympathy with the aims and purposes of the Communist Party, USA (CP). Source stated that each year, the New Haven Branch of this organization sponsors or co-sponsors meetings which provide a ready platform for CP and pro-Communist speakers, on a national and local level, to espouse the CP line.

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### In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

### UNDED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STIC

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION New Haven, Coanectacut

March 24, 1966

Title

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER

Reference

Memorandum dated and captioned as above at New Haven,

Connecticut

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Mr. Dat. Mr. Me ζ. WILLIAM E. BUCKLEY Mr. Conrad -b6 Mr. Felt. Mr. Gale .. Mr. Rosen Mr. Tavel. Mr. Trotter. Tele. Room. Miss Holmes. March 25, 1966 Miss Gandy Mr. J. Edgar Hoover Director Federal Bureau of Investigation United States Department of Justice Washington, D. C. house or you dive i withe little Dear Mr. Hoover: My thanks for your letter of March 22 and it is hoped that the Department of Justice will soon make its position known concerning the Americans who made unauthorized and illegal trip to Hanoi. REG- 105 1966 Best regards. Cordially, William E. Buckley P. S. May I also add that it will be a sad day for our country when you find it necessary to retire as noustra Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. WAR 28 1966

Hr. J. Walter Yeagley Assistant Attorney General

March 25, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Reddy

HERBERT APTHEKER STAUGHTON LYND THOMAS HAYDEN PASSPORT VIOLATION

Reference is made to your letter dated March 14, 1966, suggesting that consideration Might be given to the feasibility of interviewing John McBernett, Associate Editor of the magazine "Viet Mcport," with reference to the intent of Staughton Craig Lyrd, prior to the time he left the United States, to travel to Morth Vietnam.

Your letter noted that McDermott was quoted in the "New York World Telegran and Sun" as stating that Lynd traveled to Hanoi as a correspondent for "Viet Report."

This Bureau's Kev York Office has pointed out that there appears to be no reason to assume that McDermott would be cooperative during such an interview, but rather might utilize the interview to attempt to embarrass both the FBI and the Department of Justice.

Accordingly, and in the abence of a specific request, no attempt will be made to interview McDermott.

i - New York

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NOTE:

COMM-FBI

Department letter 3/14/66 suggested that the Bureau "may wish to consider the fersibility" of interviewing McDermott, the Associate Editor of the magazine "Viet Report," which is extremely critical of U.S. policy in Vietnam. Despite the fact that McDermott admitted to the press that Lynd traveled to Hanoi as a reporter for "Viet Report," the Bureau agrees with the recommendation of the New York Office that McDermott not be interviewed. It is felt that, if the Department wants Dermott interviewed, the Bureau should be specifically concested to do so and that it should not be left up to the Lureau to determine "the feasibility" of such an interview.

Conrad . Felt -Gale . EBR:pah Rosen

Sullivan

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# Memoranaum

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TO

W. C. Sullivar,

DATE: 3/24/66

FROM

F. J. Baumgardner

l - Wick l - Sullivan

1 - Baumgardner

1 - Franck

SUBJECT:

STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO NORTH VIETNAM

MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT

LOGAN ACT

1 - Reddy

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Holmes Gandy -

Staughton Craig Lynd is the Yale University professor who recently returned from unauthorized and illegal travel to Communist China and North Vietnam together with Herbert Eugene Aptheker and Thomas Hayden. We have been conducting extensive investigation at the Department's request looking toward possible prosecution of Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden for violation of the captioned statutes.

On 2/2/66, the Department of State "tentatively withdrew" the passports held by Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden and advised them that they were entitled to hearings before a State Department Hearing Officer as provided by State Department regulations. Under these regulations, Lynd, Aptheker and Hayden could appeal an adverse ruling to the Board of Passports Appeals and, if necessary, to the civil courts.

On 3/14/66 Lynd, without waiting for his State Department hearing, brought civil action in the U. S. District Court, Washington, D. C., against the Secretary of State seeking to enjoin and restrain the enforcement of the withdrawal of his passport and to obtain an order directing the Secretary of State to issue him a valid passport at least for the period from 4/7/66 through 4/18/66. Lynd's complaint points out that he has accepted an invitation to attend a meeting of the Committee on Nuclear Disarmament in London, England, on 4/9/66 and also to participate in a "teaching session" at Oslo, Norway, on 4/16/66 and 4/17/66 on the problems of the war in Vietnam.

The complaint avers that Lynd has no plan, pintent or expectation of trabelims 20 Afbania or the communist-controlled portions of China, Korea or Vietnam and that the withdrawal of his passport has caused him "Immediate and irreparable injury" by denying him liberty to travel; his right to engage in his profession; and his freedom to write, speak and associate with other persons. The complaint claims that the denial of the above rights is in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution.

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50fm.

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
Re: STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND; UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO
NORTH VIETNAM; MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT;
LOGAN ACT

#### **OBSERVATIONS:**

According to Department Attorney Benjamin Flanagan, the Government will, on Friday, 3/25/66, file a motion opposing Lynd's complaint. Oral argument has already been set for Wednesday, 3/30/66, before U. S. District Judge Oliver Gasch. According to Flanagan, Judge Gasch should only rule on the question of whether Lynd should be issued a valid passport for restricted travel to England and Norway for the period from 4/7/66 through 4/18/66.

It would appear that after having flagrantly violated State Department travel restrictions by traveling to Communist China and North Vietnam in December, 1965, Lynd is certainly not entitled to any special consideration in connection with his request that he be allowed to travel again before his case is adjudicated in accordance with the procedure provided by Title 8, Code of Federal Regulations, Sections 51.136 through 51.170. The possibility exists, however, according to Department Attorney Flanagan, that Judge Gasch may enjoin the Secretary of State from preventing Lynd's travel to England and Norway during the period 4/7/66 - 4/18/66.

### ACTION:

Foriinformation. You will be kept advised of developments.

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### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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NY T-11	100-80532-6817

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INFORMANTS: CONT'D				
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NY T-14	100-80532-6913			
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LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will await further instructions from the Bureau as to any additional investigation requested by the Department in this case.

- D\* -COVER PAGE

### TATES DEPARTMENT OF . FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

1-108-INTC Group, NYC (RM) 1-Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of:

Date:

VINCENT J. ASCHERL

3/29/66

Field Office File #:

100-80532

New York, New York

Bureau File #100-123974

Title:

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER. STAUGHTON CRAIG LYND: THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN

Character:

UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL TO VIETNAM:

MISUSE OF UNITED STATES PASSPORT

LOGAN ACT. CONSPIRACY

Synopsis:

Article in 'The Worker,' 1/11/66, states that HERBERT APTHEKER issued statement prior to departure for Hanoi 12/19/65 that he haddecided to visit North Vietnam. His declared objective was to stop the killing in

<u>Vietnam "</u> SAUL ROSENBAUM,

advised that while on business trip in Europe, he observed APTHEKER, LYND, and HAYDEN at the airport in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 12/22/65; he further observed

APTHEKER and LYND on the flight from Prague to Moscow via Czechoslovakian Airlines, 12/22/65; and observed LYND at the airport in Moscow later the same date. Upon their return to the US, 1/9/66 subjects widely publicized their trip to North Vietnam in writings and speeches. Set forth is analysis of writings and speeches by subjects concerning their journey to North Vietnam and their reporting

of experiences in North Vietnam.

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### DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND OF HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM TRIP AND ITINERARY OF SUBJECTS

"The Worker", January 11, 1966, page 6, columns four to five, carries an article entitled, 'APTHEKER statement Prior to Trip." This article states that prior to leaving for North Vietnam, HERBERT APTHEKER issued the following statement:

"There may be some interest in the fact that I have decided to visit the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

"I find the Vietnam War to be among the worst activities in the history of the United States Government; since that Government once was the citadel of the system of chattel slavery, this is no minor criticism!

"It is clear - it is repeatedly admitted, even in the American press - that the reportage available to American readers may be aptly characterized - to speak with restraint - as exceedingly one-sided. As Secretary-General U Thant said, 'with war, the first casualty is truth.' This is doubly so with atrocious and utterly unjust war.

"The opportunity to visit the country being mercilessly bombed - with no declaration of war - by forces of the United States and to see for myself what has been done and is being dore, and to hear for myself the viewpoint or viewpoints from that other side, therefore, is one that I could notforego Perhaps I shall be of some service, however modest, in removing the layers of fasehood weighing like an albatross about the necks of most Americans. Certainly, I shall try, I shall exercise my right as an American to 'go see for myself,' and having seen, I plan to tell and write about what I have seen.

"My objective is to do whatever I can to STOP THE KILLING IN VIETNAM; each mite helps and no person must refuse to do what his conscience bids towards this absolutely indispensable goal.

"I am a writer, in Vietnam is the story of stories and I am going to examine it, first-hand, and then I am going to tell that story to as many of my fellow-Americans as I can."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), at its 17th National Convention, held in December, 1959.

NY T-1 December 19, 1959

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed by Special Agents (SAS) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on August 13, 1953. During this interview, LYND advised that he had never been a member of the Communist Party (CP) and that he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the Fall of 1946 on the campus of Harvard 'University. He stated that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the Campus and he had disaffiliated himself from the AYD in June, 1947.

The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

STAUGHTON LYND further advised at this interview that while at Harvard University he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 to 1948. He stated that for approximately one year during that period he had served as Secretary of the John Reed Club.

John Reed Clubs of the United States are characterized in the Appendix of this report.

The "National Guardian," November 13, 1965, page 2, states that among the guests on the dais at the 17th Anniversary Dinner of the "National Guardian," held November 5, 1965, at the Hotel Americana in New York City, was THOMAS HAYDEN. This article identified THOMAS HAYDEN as the organizer since 1964 of the Newark Community Union Project, and one of the original organizers of the Students for A Democratic Society.

The "National Guardian" is characterized in the Appendix of this report.

# II. PUBLICATION OF HANOI TRIP BY SUBJECTS UPON RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES

Since their return to the United States from North Vietnam on January 9, 1966, APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN have publicized their trip to Hanoi, both in newspaper articles and in public speaking engagements. There follows an analysis of newspaper articles and speeches by above subjects, summarizing their reactions and experiences in Vietnam. These appearances are in addition to the mass meeting at Manhattan Center, New York City, held January 16, 1966, at which all three s'bjects gave an "eye witness" report.

### a. HERBERT APTHEKER (Writings)

"The Worker" commencing with the January 16, 1966 issue, exclusively carried a series of articles by HERBERT APTHEKER reporting on his experiences in Hanoi and North Vietnam. Most of these articles are date-lined "Hanoi" but bear no dates of composition.

Article number one appeared in "The Worker" issue of January 16, 1966, page three, columns two to four. It is entitled, "The Grey-haired Force in a Village Near Hanoi." APTHEKER reports being in a village twenty miles south of Hanoi. He interviews an elderly peasant and notes that elderly people in Hanoi are armed. The village people have a special name for the old men's brigade - it is the "Grey-haired Force."

APTHEKER reports being in Nam Dingh and interviews an elderly priest. The priest allegedly asked APTHEKER why the Americans were bombing his city of Nam Dingh.

APTHEKER states in his article; "Clearly I believe the Vietnamese feel that ther struggle is a just war for national independence....I am firmly convinced that the JOHNSON Policy of aggressive war in Vietnam brings death and maiming to thousands of Americans, and ruin and devastation to the people of that nation....Before leaving on this journey it was monstrous, I thought, to see and hear distinguished Americans advocate the bombing of Hanoi, and then on returning to read again of senators advocating this, and columnists reporting that important Pentagon officials thhought massive nuclear bombing of Vietnam was required; and to know all this came from one's own country, was harrowing."

A second article appeared in "The Worker," January 18, 1966, page 1, columns one to five. This article was entitled, "Children Play in Janoi's Streets in Shadow of American Bombers." This article was listed as written from Hanoi from HERBERT APTHEKER. The article carried a photograph of STAUGHTON. LYND, and HERBERT APTHEKER. being greeted on their arrival at the airport near Hanoi on December 28, 1965. The article notes that the third American in the party, THOMAS HAYDEN, was not in this photograph.

APTHEKER describes his reaction walking in the streets of Hanoi. He states that in the middle of Hanoi is a large lake, around which are air raid shelters. He visits a factory in Hanoi where 1,000 workers, men and women, produce agricultural tools and parts for automobiles. APTHEKER states that the hero of North Vietnam is an American, NORMAN MORRISON, "who immolated himself to protest the atrocious war."

Another photograph shows HERBERT APTHEKER with the Mayor of Nam Dingh, "a city which has been frequently bombed by United States planes." HERBERT APTHEKER states that he visited the "Museum of the Revolution in Hanoi. This issue of "The Worker," January 18, 1966, page four, columns one to five, carried an article entitled "PHAM VAN DONG Answers Americans' Questions." The article related that, Cn January 8, 1966, Premier PHAM VAN DONG of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam received the three-man US. peace mission, consisting of HERBERT APTHEKER, THOMAS HAYDEN and Prof. STAUGHTON LYND.

"There followed an interview that lasted 90 minutes. The three Americans also submitted questions to the Prime Minister, and his answers were given the same day."

One of the questions asked PHAM VAN DONG was, "What is your comment on the idea that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front refuse all offers to negotiate?" The Premier stated that he was not going to answer in the place of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front (NLF). He did answer for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and stated that the DRV would respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, and the Four-Point Stand of the Government of the DRV made public on April 8, 1965, one of which was that the "internal affairs of South Vietnam must be settled by the South Vietnam people themselves, in accordance with the program of the NLF. The DRV recognized the NLF as the "sole genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam."

Article number three appeared in "The Worker," January 23, 1966, page one, columns one to five. This article is entitled "Dangerous Thoughts in Hanoi Bookstores." This article carried a photograph of APTHEKER, LYND, and HAYDEN being presented with "Fruits of the Village," by a leader of a village 20 miles from Hanoi.

APTHEKER writes, "Here in Hanoi I have heard that HARRY (Two-Bomb) TRUMAN has denounced the shamelessness and self-seeking nature of the exploit whereby three Americans have taken it upon themselves to visit the Democratic Republic of Vietnam even though the State Department opposes such visits. The Voice of America says that the three criminals face five years' imprisonment for their awful act."

APTHEKER states that he is writing this article on New Year's Eve; that early in the morning he went for a stroll through the city and visited a bookstore. The works of MARX and ENGELS were available to the workers of Hanoi. APTHEKER stated that a man from the Moscow Bureau of the "Herald Tribune" called him the preceding night. He asked APTHEKER if he would be visiting the bombed areas of the front, to which APTHEKER replied in the affirmative, stating that he thought "It will be good for my soul."

This article carried a photograph of APTHEKER conversing with LU HSUN, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party.

The fourth APTHEKER article appeared in "The Worker," January 25, 1966, page one, columns four to five. It is entitled, "Vietnam's 2,000 Year Fight Against Invaders." The article carries a photograph of HERBERT APTHEKER interviewing a "75 year old Roman-Catholic Priest of Nam Dingh." APTHEKER describes visiting a cafe fronting on a lake in Hanoi called "By the Lake" cafe. Init the "working people" of Hanoi sip coffee or beer. APTHEKER treats of what he calls Vietnam's "2,000 years resistance against' foreign invaders." He visits the building which is headquarters of the Liaison Committee of the BN Army - formerly the home of Madame NHU. This article contained a photograph showing APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN among a group of Vietnamese located as being "outside a bombed elementary school in Nam Dingh. APTHEKER writes that "The DRV would welcome an offer by American physicians and nurses to help heal the wounded; perhaps some U.S. doctors and nurses would want to 'put their names down' for such service? We would welcome this for we know that it is not American doctors and workers and teachers and ordinary folk who want to bomb and destroy our country and we carefully distinguish between the present rulers of America and the vast majority of the American people."

"The Worker, January 30, 1966, page one, columns four and five, carried the fifth APTHEKER article entitled "A Theatrical Troupe in North Vietnam." The article relates that the Hanoi Theatrical Troupe of the DRV has been travelling through the countryside in late December and early January, 1965, and 1966. The article carries a photograph of APTHEKER planting a tree in a village about twenty miles South of Hanoi. Another photo has APTHEKER observing a woman worker at her machine in a factory near Hanoi. APTHEKER related that each of the provincial centers has a good theatre, and there, for three or four days, performances are offered.

The sixth article appeared in "The Worker," February 1, 1966, page four, columns one to five. It is entitled, "A Talk With A Vietnamese Poet, Musician, Peace Fighter." APTHEKER states that it is the invitation of the Vietnam Peace Committee that brought him to Hanoi. He has had lengthy talks with one of the Peace Committee members. They discussed the history of Vietnam, the structure of the Vietnamese Government, the nature of urban and rural economy. APTHEKER states that he learned most of this as he travelled with the Committeeman south from Hanoi, to the bombed areas - to the front.

"The Worker," February 6, 1966, page 2, columns four and five, carried the seventh APTHEKER article, entitled "A Visit to A Bombed Vietnam Kindergarten." APTHEKER relates that after travelling some hours south from Handi, they arrived at the city of Nam Dingh in the Province of Nan Ha. Nam Dingh is the third largest city in the DRV. In 'it live about 90,000 people. APTHEKER states, "It is evening; the City Committee greets us with flowers and the inimitable hospitality of the Vietnamese people." The article carries a photograph of HERBERT APTHEKER visiting the historical museum in Hanoi and standing before the statue of : "1,000 Eyes and a 1,000 Hands." In this article APTHEKER describes damage to a kindergarten in Nam Dingh, caused allegedly by American bombs. Another photograph shows APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN among a group of North Vietnamese standing in front of a damaged pagoda in Nam Dingh.

The eighth article by HERBERT APTHEKER in this series appeared in "The Worker," February 8, 1966, page three, columns three to five. It is entitled "An Interview in Hanoi with A Captured Flyer." APTHEKER states "Since the U.S. Government has not seen fit to declare war upon the Democratic Republic of Vietnam but rather 'only' to bomb it, those pilots who carry out these merciful missions and are brought down while doing so are considered not prisoners of war but rather apprehended criminals."

An American war prisoner agreed to be interviewed by APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN. He was interviewed with military authorities present. The prisoner allegedly asked what was new in the peace movement and in the civil rights movement, and there was discussion on this. He stated he had failed to pay any real attention to the war and the issues before "this happened." APTHEKER states that he admired the pilot's self-possession and his whole bearing under awful circumstances. "He had done an atrocious 'job,' but its full quality did not seem to have penetrated or, if it had, he certainly kept it to himself."

The ninth article appeared in "The Worker," February 26, 1966, page nine, columns three to nine. It is entitled, "Vietnamese Honor An American." In this article, APTHEKER relates that 'from January 4, to 6, 1966, in an impressive hall in Hanoi, was held a conference of Vietnamese intellectuals against the United States Aggression and for National Salvation. At the first plenary session, 660 delegates were present, while on the patform sat the Prime Minister together with leaders of the Democratic and Socialist parties. A refrain through all the speeches was the conviction in the supreme justice of the cause of the Vietnamese people. Speaker after speaker emphasized that thousands of intellectuals, professionals and students in the United States also supported the cause for independence in the Vietnamese nation.

Symbolizing that support at its noblest is the name of NORMAN R. MCRRISON, the Baltimore Quaker who immolated himself "before MC NAMARA's window" at the Pentagon on November 2, 1965, after putting his eighteen-month old child, EMILY, on the ground. MORRISON is a central hero of the Vietnamese people. APTHEKER states that at one of the intermissions of the above-mentioned conference, he had the honor to meet the Republic's leading poet, TOHUU, who also is a secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party. On November 7, 1965, five days after MORRISON's "martyrdom," TO HUU wrote a poem entitled "EMILY, My Child."

### b. HERBERT APTHEKER (Speeches)

During the period January 15 to 17, 1966, there was held in the Laurelton Room, located on the ground floor, Hotel Wellington, 55th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City, a meeting of the National Committee, CP, USA, and invited guests under the guise of "Political Perspective Conference." At the fourth session of this meeting on the afternoon of January 17, 1966, HERBERT APTHEKER was the first speaker and gave a report on his recent trip to Vietnam. APTHEKER referred to himself as the "Hanoi Kid." He stated that the CP in Vietnam was delighted to have in their midst a representative of the CP, USA. A close fraternal relationship was established. APTHEKER related that while he was in Hanoi, the "New York Herald Tribune," phoned him andasked if there was excitement in Hanoi. APTHEKER answered, "No, on ... the contrary the communists, through their Party, foster Internationalism, and they say that they are not at war with the U.S. or its people. They even say, or admit, that they will not defeat the US. They just want to get rid of the military occupation. When the Vietnamese talk of a military defeat of the U.S., they only have this in mind, the evacuation of the American troops, not the actual defeat of these troops."

APTHEKER related that the Prime Minister of North Vietnam conveyed to him his joy at the presence of a representative of the American Communists and other peace-loving representatives. The General Secretary of the Party talked with APTHEKER, LYND and HAYDEN about the peace movement in the United States. He was greatly appreciative of this movement. They want a peace movement in every country. APTHEKER stated that they had a meeting with one of the leaders of the NLF.

APTHEKER stated that the bombing of North Vietnam was no joke; they saw the damage; and they saw that the bombing was indiscriminate. It hit all sections of the population, not just bridges, railroads, factories, etc.

MY T-2 January 21, 1966

The following source also reported on HERBERT APTHEKER's appearance at the January 17, 1966 session of the enlarged meeting National Committee, CP, USA, held at the Wellington Hotel, New York City. The following is a summary of the remarks made by APTHEKER at this meeting according to this source:

The leadership of the CP of North Vietnam was delighted to receive APTHEKER as a representative of the CP, USA. APTHEKER had several extensive talks with some of the leading comrades of the CP, North Vietnam. APTHEKER stated a close relationship had been established with the Party in North Vietnam. APTHEKER specifically mentioned having spoken with General Secretary of the North Vietnam Workers Party and with other North Vietnam "comrades" in Europe, while en route to North Vietnam.

APTHEKER stated that both the CPs of China and Russia stand ready to proffer any and all kinds of required assistance, including "volunteers." The CP, North Vietnam, has the full support of the country, is well organized, has considerable reserve strength and fighting capacity, making it unnecessary to ask for outside intervention, except in terms of military help. According to APTHEKER, the CP of North Vietnam sent warm greetings for the "tremendous, "work the CP, USA and peace forces are doing in the United States.

NY T-3 ( ) [] February 16, 1966 NY 100-80532.

A meeting of the Friday Night Forum was held on January 21, 1966, at the Continental Ballroom, Newark, New The featured speaker was HERBERT APTHEKER, who spoke of his recent visit to North Vietnam. APTHEKER described the scene in Hanoi. He said the people there are calm, although they have bufft bomb shelters all over the city. APTHEKER stated that most people he talked to in North Vietnam could not understand why the United States was bombing North Vietnam. APTHEKER stated he spoke to an American airman who is arprisoner of the North Vietnamese. The airman talked about his capture, how frightened he was when he parachuted from his plane, that the North Vietnamese have given him pretty good treatment. APTHEKER claimed that no North Vietnam regulars are fighting in South Vietnam. Soldiers sent from North Vietnam are actually South Vietnamese who went to North Vietnam at the time of the division of APTHEKER claimed that the North Vietnamese have no control over the Viet Cong, and there is a difference between the North Vietnamese Army and the Viet Cong.

> NY T-4 January 26, 1966

Substantially, the same information concerning APTHEKER's appearance at the Friday night Forum on January 21, 1966, was furnished by NY T-5, NY T-6, NY T-8, through NY T-11.

NY T-7, on January 25, 1966, also reported on APTHEKER's appearance at the Friday night Forum on January 21, 1966. According to this source, APTHEKER attempted to clear up what he considered a misapprehension; namely, that STAUGHTON LYND had not led the delegation to North Vietnam, but rather that each of the three had made the trip independently. APTHEKER stated that more peace demonstrations should be made, and they should be larger. He said that HO CHI MINH had withdrawn the Viet Cong from South Vietnam in 1954, on a promise of reunification, but since this promise had turned into a hoax, it would be impossible for even "Uncle HO" to stop the Viet Cong in the South.

NY T-7 January 25, 1966

NY 100-80532 The Friday Night Forum is characterized in the Appendix. On February 6, 1966, HERBERT APTHEKER appeared on a television program, "Newsmaker," broadcast over station KNXT, Channel 2, Los Angeles, 5:00 P.M. HERBERT APTHEKER was introduced as a member of the CP for 26 years. He was asked to state his position with respect to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam. APTHEKER stated it was important for him not to remain silent when he thinks the Government is doing something wrong. He said he is a Communist because he thinks it is right. APTHEKER stated "I am an American first, last and always, and I am a Communist also and have been for 26 years. APTHERER stated that if the United States was to go into a full scale war, and he was opposed to the war, he would not keep silent. NY T-12 February 7, 1966 HERBERT APTHEKER was the featured speaker at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Michigan, on February 10, 1966. APTHEKER spoke on the subject, "Vietnam - Withdrawal or Negotiation?" In his speech, APTHEKER stated, in substance, that the United States was improperly involved in Vietnam and should withdraw. NY T-13 February 11, 1966 On February 11, 1966, HEREERT APTHEKER spoke in the ballroom of the Union Building at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. About 325 persons, mostly students, attended this meeting. APTHEKER spoke about his recent visit to North Vietnam and stated that United States action in Vietnam has seriously hampered United States power, influence and prestige all over the world. NY T-14 February 11, 1966 - 15 -

NY 100-80532 APTHEKER appeared on the campus of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, on the afternoon of February 11, 1966. He spoke concerning his recent trip to Vietnam. He criticized the presence of United States troops in Vietnam and protested United States policy in Vietnam as being an example of modern-day colonialism. The primary sponsor of this appearance was the W.E.B. Du Bois Club. NY T-15 February 11, 1966 W.E.B. Du Bois Club is characterized in the Appendix. On the evening of February 12, 1966, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the Central Methodist Church House, Detroit, Michigan, under the sponsorship of the William Mc Kie Memorial Library and Educational Center. meeting was attended by approximately 450 people. APTHEKER spoke on his recent trip to North Vietnam and was critical of United States policies in Vietnam. He declared that President JOHNSON's aggressive actions in Vietnam threaten American people with the same sort of catastrophy as Hitler's aggressive policy brought on the German people. NY T-16 February 13, 1966 The William Mc Kie Memorial Library and Educational Center is characterized in the Appendix. NY T-17 also reported on APTHEKER's appearance at the Central Methodist Church House on February 12, 1966, and furnished substantially the same information. This information was received on February 18, 1966. - 16 -

On February 17, 1966, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the Famous Ballroom, 1717 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland. The subject of the speech was "Current American Policy in Vietnam." Approximately 200 people attended this affair. APTHEKER, during his speech, denounced the current administration policy of the United States in Vietnam as "aggression" and in violation of the Geneva Agreement of 1954. APTHEKER stated that the Americans are the "real" aggressors.

NY T-18 February 18, 1966

HERBERT APTHEKER appeared as principal speaker at the 28th Anniversary celebration of the "People's World" at San Francisco, on Saturday, February 19, 1966. APTHEKER spoke at the Towne House Motel in the Downtown Section of San Francisco, before an audience of approximately 700.

APTHEKER's appearance was billed as his first West Coast appearance since his return from Hanoi. APTHEKER criticized the United States military policy in Vietnam and recommended renewed and stronger demonstrations against current United States policy.

NY T-19 February 21, 1966

HERBERT APTHEKER presented a "report from Hanoi" on February 20, 1966, at a meeting in honor of the 28th Anniversary of the "Peoples World". This meeting was held at 13440 South Central Avenue, Compton, California. APTHEKER described his experiences in Hanoi and said that he was permitted to go somewhat deeply into the battle area. They went to the city of Nam Dingh, where APTHEKER interviewed an elderly priest.

NY T-20
February 23, 1966
and SA Personnel of the
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

The "Peoples World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

### c. STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN

STAUGHTON LYND delivered an address at Woolsey Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, on January 17, 1966, on the subject of Vietnam. LYND was asked who financed his recent trip to North Vietnam. He answered that 12 friends donated \$1,500.00 and he had savings of his own.

NY T-21 January 20, 1966

"Viet-Report", January, 1966, self-described as the "emergency news bulletin on Southeast Asian affairs", carried an article entitled, "In Hanoi -- The Peace That Is Not Offensive". This article appeared on page three under the authorship of STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN. This article states that on January 9, 1966, LYND, HAYDEN, and APTHEKER returned from a three-week fact-finding mission to Prague, Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi. Professor LYND travelled as a correspondent for "Viet-Report". The substance of the article was the same as the press release issued by HAYDEN and LYND upon their arrival at John F. Kennedy International Airport, January 9, 1966. On Pages 16 to 18 of this publication is set forth an interview with Premier PHAM VAN DONG. This article is described as follows:

"Hanoi, January 5, 1966 -- Three Americans Interview Premier Pham Van Dong".

The article reflects comments of the Premier concerning the position of North Vietnam in the present conflict. "The Vietnamese people feel they are fighting for a just cause against barbarous aggression. We take this occasion to say that there is no hatred between the people of the United States and the people of Vietnam". The Premier is further quoted as saying, "The essence of the United States' peace offensive is the idea of negotiating from strength".

HY 100-80532

"Viet-Report" is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

THOMAS HAYDEN was featured speaker at a Belleville discussion group, held on February 6, 1966, at Belleville, New Jersey. HAYDEN spoke about his recent trip to North Vietnam, in the company of HERBERT APTHEKER and STAUGHTON LYND. HAYDEN reviewed the history of North Vietnam and the years of struggle and fighting in that country. He described how people in North Vietnam are tired of fighting and only want peace.

NY T-4 February 7, 1966

1

### APPENDIX

FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM (NEWARK, NEW JERSEY)

A source advised in November, 1960, that a forum for "lefts and progressives" was mentioned as coming into existence at a meeting of New Jersey COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) leaders held in Newark, New Jersey, at the end of October, 1960. DAVID ROCKLIN, known to the source as a CP member, and other active CP members were mentioned as being associated with the effort to establish such a public sounding board.

A second source advised in December, 1960, that a letter had been prepared announcing the organization of the FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM (FNF) and advertising the first meeting as being scheduled for January 20, 1961. According to the letter, the FNF was to present a series of lectures, one each month, at the Continental Ballroom, in Newark, New Jersey. These lectures were to be on the "political events of these times" and were to feature qualified speakers on such topics as the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), Cuba, Africa, Asia, civil rights, co-existence, and national and international events.

A third source advised on May 26, 1965, that during the past four years, the FNF has continued to present a series of speakers on such topics as international relations, abolition of the HCUA, Africa, Asia, and Vietnam, education and social reforms in the Soviet Union, disarmament, Soviet youth activities, and other topics of current interest. These speakers have been presented since the inception of the FNF at a series of meetings held on Friday evenings in Newark, New Jersey.

The third source advised on May 26, 1965, that FNF meetings are currently being held at the Continental Ballroom Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey, and that LEO RITZ is the 1964-1965 chairman.

During November, 1955, a self-admitted member of the CP from the mid-1930's until late 1944, advised that during the period from just prior to World War II, until late 1944, he knew LEO RITZ to be a member of the Clinton Hill Branch of the New Jersey CP.

#### APPENDIX

1.

## "NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

#### "National Guardian

"1. 'established by the American Labor
Party in 1947 as a "progressive"
weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies
having any affiliation with the
Communist Party, it has manifested
itself from the beginning as a virtual
official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities,
Report, Trial by Treason: The National
Committee to Secure Justice for the
ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25,
1956, p. 12.)"

### APPENDIX

l.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT (PLM)

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the PLP, formerly known as the PLM, held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times", City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes the Marxist-Leninist Quarterly', a theoretical magazine; 'Progressive Labor' a monthly magazine; 'Challenge,' a New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of 'Challenge', page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

2.

#### APPENDIX

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (SCTC)

The SCTC was formerly known as the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba and the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

LUCE advised he was a leader and participant of the 1963 trip to Cuba and an organizer of the 1964 trip to Cuba and that both trips were sponsored by the SCTC.

LUCE advised that by the spring of 1964, the Executive Committee of the SCTC was considered to be members of the PLM.

LUCE advised that no trip to Cuba or China was being planned by the SCTC for 1965.

PLM is characterized in the appendix.

1.

#### APPENDIX

## "VIET-REPORT"

The masthead of the July, 1965, issue of "Viet-Report" described it as "an emergency news bulletin on Southeast Asian Affairs." The masthead stated that the publication was distributed by Viet-Report, Inc., 133 West 72nd Street, New York City.

The records of the County Clerk, New York County, New York City, reviewed on August 2, 1965, reflected the issuance of Certificate of Incorporation Number 504792, New York State, filed on June 24, 1965, for Viet-Report, Inc., 133 West 72nd Street, New York City; incorporating officers were:

CAROL BRIGHTMAN	_
JOHN MC DERMOTT	,
MARTIN NICOLAUS	

On May 25, 1965, a confidential source advised that on May 13, 1965, a "teach-in" was held at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York, for the purpose of evaluating the Vietnam war; that among the speakers was JOHN MC DERMOTT, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Long Island University, Brooklyn, New York.

"Viet-Report", issue of July, 1965, page 30, identified JOHN MC DERMOTT as "Associate Editor" of "Viet-Report", and a graduate student in Sociology, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts.

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WILLIAM MC KIE MEMORIAL LIBRARY AND EDUCATIONAL CENTER, also known as William Mc Kie Memorial Library, Mc Kie Memorial Library

A source advised during October, 1960, that the late WILLIAM MC KIE had given his personal library to the Communist Party, USA (CP), Michigan District.

BERENIECE BALDWIN, an admitted CP member 1943-1951, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities at Detroit, Michigan, February 9, 1952, that WILLIAM MC KIE was a Charter Member of the CP. WILLIAM MC KIE died at Detroit February 9. 1959.

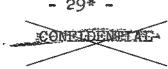
A second source advised on March 24, 1961, that Room 207, Hayward Building, 4835 Woodward, Detroit, was rented to CONRAD KOMOROWSKI, March 15, 1961, to house the William Mc Kie Memorial Library and Educational Center (WMMLEC).

> A third source advised on December 10, 1962, that CONRAD KOMOROWSKI was a member of the Polish Club, CP, Michigan District.

A fourth source advised on February 14, 1963, that the WMMLEC is supervised by HELEN WINTER. This source reported that the aim and purpose of the library is to make available Communist and pro-Communist literature for CP members and sympathizers and for anyone else interested in it.

> A fifth source advised on June 24, 1964, that HELEN WINTER, as of that date, was Educational Director of the CP, Michigan District.

The fourth source advised on May 11, 1965, that the WMMLEC continues to be located at 207 Hayward Building, 4835 Woodward. Detroit.



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1325321-1
Total Deleted Page(s) = 12
Page 26 ~ b3; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;
Page 27 ~ b3; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;
Page 28 ~ b3; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;
Page 29 ~ b3; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;
Page 30 ~ b3; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;
Page 31 ~ b3; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;
Page 251 ~ b3;
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Page 255 ~ b3;
Page 256 ~ b3;
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## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-1185	<b>25)</b> DATE: 3/20/61
FROM:	SA ROGER O'MARA (421)	
SUBJECT:	BCLC IS - C	; ;
	Identity of Source	
	Description of info	BCLC meeting 2/21/61
	Date Received	3/9/61
	Original located [	
	A copy of informant's re	eport follows:

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February 21, 1961

A Celebration to commemorate "Brotherhood Week" was held this evening, at the Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton Ave. Bronx, N.Y. under the auspices of the Bronx Committee for Civil Liberties and Civil Rights. Meeting was well attended (about 120 people); this was made possible due to the cooperation of the local CP group, many of whom were present. The meeting was addressed by HERBERT APTHEKER, a very good speaker and he toughed mainly on everything concerning the US for the past 100 years; also the amendments to the constitution which have not been adhered to and the meddling in foreign affairs by this country by sending Marines there and everywhere in Order to bolster imperialism. It is spoken that APTHEKER is a writer and is paid for his addresses to gatherings such as this, that he charges or it is a practice to pay him 20 or 25 dollars per meeting which includes questions and answers; however he accepted only \$5.00 for this evening's talk. The next speaker was OLIVER MARTIN, a negro, also a very good talker and a member of the NACP (advance colored people) who spoke mainly on the New Orleans current trouble and how the colored people are made to suffer and notallowed to vote, etc. It has been remarked that he is the son of a Philadelphia policeman, has an Italian wife from Italy during World War 2 with three children.

A total of 110 people paid 50 cents admission to this affair with more to be collected from sold tackets. Mr. SAM NESIN was asked to take the rostrum and appeal for funds to further the cause of the Bronx Civil Liberties, result \$59.25, total in all about \$115.00 derived from affair; expenses for coffee and cake and rental of hall (\$10.00) should not exceed \$25.00. The following were present, KNOWN.

BELLA ALTSHULER	HEBECCA GUREWITZ	
HELEN FELMAN	REBECCA GORDON	
MEYER BELLIT	SADIE AUGENSIGHT	
RALPH SANTO	DORA FRIEDKISS	
HELEN BLOCK and husband	PAULA MICHTON	
BEA	SOL FELLER	
MEKE	WANDA HARTUNG	
JEANETTE ROSENBERG	DORA SINGER	
CHARLES FITZPATRICK	BERTHE LOBEL JULTY	
DORA ZIEBEL	HYMAN GOLDSTEIN	
SAW & EDNA NESIN	HAROLD BLYER	
REBECCA MINDEL	SAM NUCHOW & WIFE	
BELLA HALEBSKY	FRIEDA LURIE	
MRS. MAZUR	BLUMA FEINSTEIN b6	:
MR.& MRS. POSNER.	MRS. B.ROSENBERG.	
MR.& MRS, ALEXANDERSON	SARAH KROLL,	
MR.& MRS. BLANK	HILDA BROWN	
MRS, STEINMAN	MRS. KOFSKY b6	;
RUBIN SPYRITUS	MR. MENDESS	
LADY KATZ,	DAVE ELVESON	
MR. LEVINE	MR. I. BROWN,	

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-1185	25) DA	TE: 3/20/61
FROM:	SA ROGER O'MARA (421)		
SUBJECT:	BCLC IS - C		
	Identity of Source		
	Description of info	BCLC meeting	•
	Date Received	2/23/61	
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February 10, 1961

A meeting of the Bronx Civil Liberties and Civil Rights was held this evening, at the residence of BELLA ALTSHULER, L for the purpose of regular business; the release of HENRY WINSTON; abolishment of the House Un-American Committee; arrangements for the "Brotherhood Week" affair to be held at the Allerton Comm. Center, 683 Allerton Ave. on Feb. 21, 1961; and to hear JESUS COLON address this meeting for two hours, most of the time taken to explain the Cuban affair, such as the conditions there being very good with the help o'f China and the Soviet; according to COLON Cuba has a population of six and one half million, most of the people employed in the sugar fields where they are masters and not slaves, where the captialist has tried to suppress the people there with American help; that the Cuban people are in love with the American people, but not the heads; that the U.S. tries to cover by alloting 4 million dollars to the refugees etc. and that the money is only a drop considering the millions and millions that the CIA spends from within to exploit the Cuban people, that the CIA has no limit and control to spend and spend they do; that China has loaned Cuba sixty million dollars without interest; he also asked this meeting to organize some kind of organization in the US to benefit Cuba; also that Cuba would have been invaded if the world had not been advised by CASTRO. This man COLON is a Puerto Rican (colored) about fifty years or so of age, bald on top of his head with gray-hair at temple; he wore a neck brace this evening, seems to talk from experience and very good at it with his spanish accent, is a teacher of some kind, conducts classes of some kind and a good orator. He worked in the Brooklyn Post Office for mineteen years and is personally known by HAROLD BLYER also out of the Brooklyn Post Office.

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On the other parts of the meeting, it was the same old talk on how to release WINSTON, etc. A test case is to be made in order that the Civil Liberties organizations may meet in Public Schools in New York. The Committee to abolish HUAC spent \$7500.00 to insert an ad in N.Y. Times recently. The State Committee allowed ALTSHULERS organization \$30.00 for stamps to mail open letter to President. In addition to HERBERT APTEKE to address Brotherhood week meeting, the negro who was not announced is going to MARTIN OLIVER and a negro by the name of SOL BRYSON is going to entertain. Present financial standing of BCL is \$113.61 and the following were present of a total of 21:

BELLA ALTSHULER MYMAN GOLDSTEIN

HELEN FELMAN MAROLD BLYER

MEYER BELLIT REBECCA GUREWITZ

RALPH SANTO REBECCA GORDON (in good

health again)

HELEN BLOCK and hisband (MR. BLOCK)

SOL FELLER and wife SADIE AUGENSICHT

WANDA HARTUNG DORA FRIEDKISS

DORA SINGER PAULA MICHTON

BERTHA LOBEL (JULTY) DEA (Lady, active, non-

commital)

JIESU COLON MIKE (boy friend of JEANETTE

ROSENBERG)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DATE: 3,20,/61 MEMORANDUM TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782) FROM: SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY (#414) SUBJECT: NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES IS-C ъ3 Identity of source who has furnished b7D reliable info in past (conceal) Description of info Informant reported on rally honoring ex-Spanish leader DE VAYA at Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel on 2/10/61. Date received 2/28/61 SA FOWERD W. BUCKLEY (written) Received by Original location Acopy of informant's written report follows: ъ3 b6 NY 100-142050 NY 100-80532 (422) ь7С (HERBERT APTHEKER b7D - NY 100-124226 (412)- NY 100-102944 - NY 100-26448 - NY 100-134884 1 - NY 100-13483 1 - NY 100-135473 1 - NY 100-136799 1 - NY 100-13527 1 - NY 100-100442 1 - NY 100-136814 1 - NY 100-135736 1 - NY 100-134729 1 - NY 100-SUSAN METZI (412) 1 - NY 100-*143766* 1 - NY 100-137578 1 - NY 100-136745 1 - NY 100-139416 1 - NY 100-133809 1 - NY 100-142782 (41) EWB/jem 100-80532 3097 (22)SEARCHED .....INDEXED SERIALIZED WAR 21 1961 FBI - NEW YORK

2/12/61

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Meeting Honoring ex-Spanish president DE VAYA 2/10/61 8:45 to 11pm Sheravon-Atlantic Hotel 250 present

### The following were present:

(3) (2) (1)	Ex-president DE VAYA, main speaker HERBERT APTHEKER. speaker
45678910112 112 113 115 115 115 115	MARVIN MARKMAN JOHN VACO FNU
(17) (18) (19) (20) (21)	SUSAN METZ MICHAEL BROWNSTEIN STANLEY ZELMAN LORI TAYLOR TOM KEOGH JOE GROSSFIELD,

The writer does not know the name of the chairman of the meeting, he is 40 years, glasses, 160 lbs, 5'8". He sai that the NY School for Marxist Studies is run by a "small committee".

HERBERT APTHEKER spoke for about ½ hour. He made an appeal for funds and collected "more than was expected". APTHEKER said that the spring term of the NY School for Marxist Studies will begin March 6. Everyone should tell his friends about the new term. APTHEKER said that he disagrees with the US policy of siding with FRANCO Spain.

Before DE VAYA began his speech he received a standing ovation. He mentioned the piracy of the Portugese liner and commended the pirate captain and considered the act as a progressive one. He discussed the Spanish Civil War which took place between 1936-1939, he was the leader against FRANCO, he led the resistence movement. DE VAYA criticized the US for supporting a Fascist dictator instead of a democratic movement. He praised the Abraham Lincoln Brigade for its fine effort in trying to defeat FRANCO. DE VAYA said that he is living in exile from Spain and has made many trips around the world. He said that he was recently in Spain and was almost caught by the Spanish police.

She received a good hand.

Perhaps 30% of those present were under the age of 25. SCOPE was mentioned as having classes in connection with the New York School but independent of it.

APTHEKER said that he is surprised and overwhelmed at the large turnout this evening since the meeting was not advertised and was limited to those with invitations and their friends.

ь6 ь7с SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782) (41)

3/21/61

SA SEBASTIÁN S. MIGNOSA (424)

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'Identity of Source:

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Description of info:

Info re Dr. APTHEKER'S
Class at the MYSMS.

Date Received:

2/28/61

Original located:

A copy of informant's mport follows:

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2/28/61 New York, N.#,

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				who a		reviously	h <b>as</b>	attended	this
,	Ч	and an	unknom	femal.	e				

APTHEKER discussed C. WRIGHT WILLS, Professor of Sociology at Columbia University.

APTHERER said WILLS was connected with the 30's & 40's radical thought & therefore brings freshness to his views.

APTHERER said WILLS is fundamentally a scholar and believes what he writes.

APTHERER mid WILLS sees the advent of Socialism and the falsity of anti-Communism since WILLS has traveled and lectured in Socialist countries.

APTHEKER said that WILLS made errors regarding the CP Position in Cuba.

APTHERER said the C.P. did support CASTRO right from the beginning. Further, the Cuban revolution was a Socialist revolution. It is an anti-imperialist-national liberation movement. The land in Cuba is not owned by the state but by the individual landowners as cooperatives.

APTHEKER at the end of class thanked the class femiliarir cooperation and expressed the hope that they would attend classes at the school which begin March 5, 1961.

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO	:
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SAC, NEW YORK (100-118525)

DATE3/22/61

FROM:

SA ROGER O'MARA (421)

SUBJECT: BCLC

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Identity of Source

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Description of info

BCLC meeting

Date Received

3/6/61

Original located

A copy of informant's report follows:

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### 2/25/61

On 2/21/61 at 8:30 P.M. at 683 Allerton Avenue a lecture was given by HERBERT APTHEKER and OLIVER NORTON ( of the NAACP) at an open meeting sponsored by the BCLC.

There were approximately 90 persons present. Those identified were: MINNIE KALMUS, SAM and EDNA NESIN, BELLA HALEBSKY, BORA ZIEBEL and her husband, BEA and STANLEY STEIN, ANNA DOOHA, PAULINE MICHTON, BELLA ALTSCHULER, LOU LAESKY, FERMIN CAMENIR, HYMAN GOLDSTEIN, HELEN FELDMAN, WANDA HARTUNG, GOLDIE LEVITT, HILDA BROWN, JEANETTE ROSENBERG, TONYA ROSENBERG, and JAKE WITKIN.

BELLA ALTSCHULER was the chairman for the evening. She introduced HERBERT APTHECKER who said that since this was the time of the Civil War Celebration he was going to talk about Brotherhood Week. He said that this was a time of war against segragation, and that younger negroes were taking greater steps to intergrate lunch counters in the South, and that there was still a great deal of segragation in the North. He said that Pres. EISENHOWER showed more caution and patience in dealing with Sen. ELLENDER, and the southern segragationists than with Cuba. He also said that KENNEDY had talked big, but took no action in the New Orleans school situation.

The next speaker introduced by BEILA ALTSCHULER was OLIVER NORTON who gave a short talk on his organization's postion on intergration. A collection was then taken up, and refreshments were served.

NY 22 (6-30-58) OFFICE MEMORANDUM

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YO	ORK .	DATE:	3/23/61
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SUBJECT: HERBERT APS 32 Ludlam 1 Brooklyn 2	THEKER  100-e-  1, N.Y.  10-2-5		
SM-C	+ 1)	la,	- K
4/15/57, this build and National Office has been designated States pursuant to space in this build ress. Inc., publis eekly newspaper.	who has furnished lable to the New Yorke captioned substantial street ing has been occupied of the Communist I by the Attorney Gen Executive Order 104 ling has been occupied ther of "The Worker,"	k Office informat, obtained from the obtained from the New York City. It is the New York Party, USA. The City, USA. The City, USA. The City, USA. The City, USA. The City Since June, 12 and by Publishers New East Communication of the Communi	ion e Since State P, USA d 958, ew nist
of the nature of the	ounce of information cy. It is also to has source of information tagt the source regard	e noted that becar tion it will be	use
Information receive	d on 3/13/61	by	
SA EVER	ett k. deane & se ff	ANCIS W. MILLER	
The following dispo	sition is being made	of the original o	exhibit:
(X) Place in NY fi	le #	Serial	
		Tirelad ladde	
( ) Forwarded for	your information and		
( ) No copy of the by the NYO.	exhibit or this let	ter is being retai	ined
Description of exhi	bit: See attached car dual was a subscriber to	"The Worker"	tioned 05303/0/
		SEARUHEDT	

#### OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-76)

DATE: March 24, 1961

FROM:

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33745)

SUBJECT:

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

YOUTH MATTERS

IS - C /

OO: NEW YORK

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION CONTAINED MEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. KNOWLEDGE OF THE MATTER REFERRED TO HEREIN IS KNOWN TO ONLY THREE PEOPLE AT THIS TIME, ONE OF WHOM IS THE SOURCE AND THE MESSAGE HAS NOT AS YET BEEN DELIVERED TO THE ADDRESSEE. THEREFORE IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THIS INFORMATION COULD BE READILY ATTRIBUTED TO THE SOURCE IF REVEALED. IN VIEW OF THE FOREGOING, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT NO INVESTIGATION WHATSOEVER BE CONDUCTED IN THIS MATTER AT THIS TIME ON ANY FACET OF THE INFORMATION NOTED HEREIN.

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(FNU FOLSON)
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                                          MEMBERSHIP)
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                                          - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
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     New Haven (RM) (100-2254)
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New York (Encl. 1) (RM)
100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER)
                                   (FRANK WILKINSON)
  - Los Angeles (100-
                        (100-2254), (WILLARD UPHAUS)
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                       ("NÉW HORIZONS")
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     1 - A)134-46
                                                              DI NEW YORK
RWH: ntb
 (24)
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The information on the following pages was orally furnished on March 20, 1961, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. The contents of the message was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN on this same date and photostated by the Chicago Office. The original of this message was returned to the source on March 21, 1961. This information was reduced to writing on March 23, 1961.

One photostat of the message referred to herein is being furnished to the Bureau, New York and Cincinnati. One photostat of this item has been made an exhibit by the Chicago Office and will be found in Chicago file 100-33745-1A:38.

Neither the source nor the Chicago Office have been able to interpret the handwritten given name of the writer of the above referred to item. It is suggested that Cincinnati may be familiar with the identity of the individual shown as the author of this communication.

March 20, 1961 It has been learned that ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), from Cleveland, Ohio, spent three days at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, where he conducted a seminar on the topic of Communism. While at Antioch College, KRCHMAREK reportedly met with Party members and other youth. While at Antioch, KRCHMAREK was furnished with a written message by one of the individuals with whom he had been in contact. This message was given to KRCHMAREK for personal delivery to DANNY RUBIN in New York City. Specific instructions were left that the message was not to be transmitted through U.S. mails, but by the Party's established communication channel. On March 19, 1961, this confidential message was observed and its verbatim contents are set forth below: "Antioch Union Yellow Springs, Ohio 8 March 1961 "Dear Danny, "I haven't got much to report and I'm loaded with work so this will be short. "On the whole things are going very well here. Compared to the atmosphere when I left 2 years ago it is really great. bunch of kids who went to Cuba over Christmas have been doing a fine job of spreading the word. We have a good active NAACP --. we desegregated a local movie house just last week and it really gave a lift to a lot of people. The peace group is muddling along but at least we've got a peace group -- about 25-30 active people -- and that's more than when I left. Especially with the peace group the isolated position of Antioch makes it hard for people to get the feeling that they are accomplishing anything. The SPU influence is strong among a few of the kids but most really haven't got much idea about the different organizations and are mainly motivated by vague pacifist thoughts. There is a good chance that by the end of this quarter I can get the group to affiliate with Student SANE. I'm going to try my damndest to get up to Oberlin for the SPU conference in April -- possibly as a voting delegate from the peace group here. We are affiliated to SPU, though not . l .

If any other comrades will be there please let as a chapter. them or me know about it. The left here is not really organized. There are so many other things going on that people just don't find the time. But informally there is something pretty good. There are two people who are solidly with us and who will join if it is possible, considering their work and the possible disruption of our activities in the near future. And there are halfa dozen others around who are promising, though I am in no position to push them very hard. I has been very interesting to see the calmness withhwhich this campus has accepted both Aptheker and Krchmarek in almost one dose, with Wilkinson and Uphaus in between. Two years ago people would have run for cover. I am very pleased with this new awareness, but I realize that it is not going to be peaches and cream over night. People are coming out of their shells but while the fear is disappearing there remains hostility to the Communist heft. They will listen to Aptheker but it is difficult for him to cross the gulf of isolation which the Cold War has created. I would be very interested to hear how Marv's trip is going -- what kind of response he is getting. been selling a good bit of literature this quarter -- Aptheker's pamphlets have gone well and the 10 copies of the new handbook of M-L which arrived yesterday are all gone. There has been a good bit of talk around here of organizing a national student movement along liberal-left lines -- something like SLATE. I've been pushing hard for this idea, at least to get people thinking about it. Antioch has a lot of influence in liberal and left student circles and we might do well to get people moving along these lines. hadn't thought about this too much before I got back here and so I don't know how this fits into your ideas. Hopefully Marv will be able to get out here before I leave in June and he can fill me I've been very pleased with the last two issues of New H. -keep up the good work.

"Unfortunately I have not been able to really talk with Krchmarek because of the surveillance but I get from him the general idea of what will follow an adverse ruling by the Supreme Court. I shall let friends in NY know of my whereabouts at all times and you will be able to find out from them what I'm up to —Judee Rosenbaum is your best bet. I shall assume that you will contact me if necessary. If things become difficult I shan't try to contact you.

"Fraternally

--- Folson"

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SAC, HEN YOUR

Harch 24, 1961

CAC, DIMEDIA (100-21783)

GLOBAL DODES, clm.

pdvised on February 21, 1961, that
Doctor HERBENT APTHEMER addressed a Global Books Forum
February 17, 1961, in the Italian Room, Hotel Tuller,
Detroit, on the subject, "The Rising Tide of Racial Equality."

is a current Information furnished roliable information in the past. Information contained

Global Poolis is characterized in an appendit page attached heroto.

3)- New York (REGISTERED) (2 - 100-13106)

 $\sqrt{(1-100-39533)}$ 

2 - Dotroit (1 - 109-21783)

(1 - 100 - 16290)

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**b3 b7**D GLOBAL BOOKS, aka Global Books and Publications, Global Books Forum

Global Books was registered with the Assumed Names Section, City-County Building, Detroit, Michigan, Certificate Number 104092, on September 3, 1958, by HELEN WINTER.

A source advised on December 16, 1960, that HELEN WINTER was (then) currently a member of the State Committee, Communist Party, USA, (CP), Michigan District.

The CP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A throw-away announcing the opening of Global Books reflects that Global Books (a book store), 4829 Woodward, Detroit, opened May 9, 1959; and it states in part "... Actually what we are offering is a mail order book service which does not stop at national boundries ..." and further "... we will specialize in Negro and labor history and folklore; the best from the USSR, China and other Socialist countries..."

A second source advised on April 22, 1960, that HELEN WINTER had stated on that date that she was still working at Global Books and that it appeared as if she would be making a career of it. This source added on February 1, 1961, that Global Books continues in operation at Room 201, 4829 Woodward, Detroit.

A third source advised during July, 1959, that CARL WINTER stated on July 18, 1959, that Global Books contemplated sponsoring a lecture or forum series.

First source advised on December 16, 1960, that CARL WINTER (husband of HELEN WINTER) was (then) currently chairman of the CP, Michigan District.

## Identity of Source

Global Books Forum was registered with the Assumed Names Section, City-County Building, Detroit, Michigan, Certificate Number 134523 on January 11, 1961, by CARL HAESSLER. Attached to this certificate was a letter from HELEN WINTER stating that she as owner of Global Books consented to the registration of Global Books Forum as an assumed name. She further states that she is the Secretary and CARL HAESSLER the Chairman - Treasurer of Global Books Forum.

JOSEPH Z. KORNFEDER who has advised that he was a member of the CP from 1919 - 1934, having been Anglo-American representative to the Commintern while attending the Lenin School, Moscow, Russia, 1927 - 1930, stated on February 19, 1945, that CARL HAESSLER was an old time Communist originally from Chicago, then New York. According to KORNFEDER, HAESSLER was one of the more respected members of the CP, though not an open member.

#### 100-123974

Date:

March 27, 1961

To:

Office of Security Department of State

Frem:

John Edger Hoover, Director

Eubject:

HIRM RT LUGENT. APTHER, P

INITENAL STAURITY - C

INTERNAL SICIRITY ACT OF 1950

There is attached a memorandum prepared by this Eurean's New York Office dated March 16, 1961, regarding foreign travel by Aptheker, a member of the National Committee, Communist Porty, USA, and editor of "Political Affairs," the monthly theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA.

When information is received regarding Aptheker's departure date and mode of travel, you will be promptly advised and the Legal Attaches at London, Paris and Reme will be instructed to contact appropriate accurity sources to receive any pertinent information they may develop regarding Aptheker while he is in the areas covered by the Legal Attaches.

#### Inclosure

I - Director (Enclosure)

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

1 - London (Enclosure)

1 - Paris (Enclosure)

1 - Rome (Enclosure)

2 - New York (100-80532) (See Note Page 2)

CONFIDENTIAL

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Office of Security Department of State

### NOTE FOR SAC. NEW YORK:

Re New York letter 3-16-61. Follow closely and submit letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination when information is obtained regarding Aptheker's departure date and mode of travel.

SAC, (100-43650)

3/27/61

SA FORREST F. BURGESS

PHILADELPHIA SOCIAL SCIENCE FORUM COMMITTEE; IS - C

who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to SA FORREST F. BURGESS on 3/16/61, a special notice which reflected information concerning meetings sponsored by the Philadelphia Social Science Forum Committee on 3/17/61 and 4/21/61. The 3/17/61 meeting was to be held at the Adelphia Hotel, 13th and Chestnut Streets and PHILLIP BONASKY, editor of "Mainstream" was the scheduled speaker on the subject "Culture in a Changing World." This announcement indicated that BONASKY had returned recently from a prolonged visit to eastern Europe and the USSR where he had an opportunity to attend a number of cultural conferences and meet the leaders in this field. He was indicated to have written books and short stories which have been translated into many languages. Some of these have appeared in "Colliers," "Liberty" and other American magazines. Among his books are "Burning Valley," a novel of the struggles of the Pittsburgh steel workers; "Brother Bill McKie," biography of the pioneer union leader of the auto workers and a new novel to be published, "The Magic Fern."

This special notice indicated the final forum of the season would be held on Friday night, 4/21/61, at the Adelphia Hotel, at which HEREERT APTHEKER would speak on "Socialism: American Perspectives."

The above-mentioned notice will be maintained in 100-43350 1B-1 (24).

2 - New York (RM) 1 - 100-91308 1 - 100-80532 (HEREERT APTHEKER) 4 - Philadelphia 1 - 100-43650 1 - 100-34782 1 - 100-38836 (HEREERT APTHEKER)

FFB:fkd (6)

September 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 - 1999 -

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3/29/61

SAC, NEW YORK (100-9/167)

SA FRANCIS J. COSTIGAN

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

(5)

ReBulet 12/12/56, advised that a review of each issue of "Political Affairs" should be made with a view of effecting probable identification of authors. In the event a probable identification is not made, it will be necessary for each office to open a case and conduct investigation to attempt to effect the identification and further to cause to be conducted such investigation as is necessary to determine if the individual should be included in the SI.

Copies of this letter are being designated for the NY files of the probable authors who have written articles, letters and/or book reviews appearing in the March, 1961 issue of "Political Affairs." In the event the probable author or authors is determined to be residing in other than the NYC area, the office covering such residence is to be notified and a case file opened to determine if the probable author is to be included in the SI.

Listed below are the titles of articles, the pages of the articles and the names of the authors appearing in the March, 1961 issue of "Political Affairs."

Title of Article	Pages	Authors
The Struggle for Peaceful Co-Existence and Party Mass Ties	<b>22-</b> 34	ROBERT G. THOMPSON
Recent Strikes and Their Lessons	35-46	GEORGE MORRIS
The Cuban Revolution: Part I	47-52	HERBERT APTHEKER  /00-80532-3/67
The First Conference of African and Asian Women	6 <b>0-</b> 64	SHIRLEY GRAHAM  SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED MED
NY (100-27452)  1 NY (100-80532) (HERBERT  1-NY (100-87531)  1-NY (100-97167) (415)  FJC:rmv	APTHEKER) (	FBI — NEW YORK

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

#### MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18338)

DATE: 3-24-6

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FROM : SA ROBERT J. STOETZEL

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF ILLINOIS

EDUCATION IS - C

On February 14, 1961, who has furnished reliable information in the past orally advised the writer of information concerning a meeting of the CP at the held on residence of in Chicago. 3 - Indianapolis (RM) 1 - 100 - 95291 - 100 -(CP Strategy and Industry) 1 - 100 -1 - New York (RM) (HERRERT ADTHEKER) 100-26652 -100-24729-100-36452- 100-35412 - 100-38122 (DEBS CP CLUB) - 100-18957 (CP YOUTH MATTERS) - 100-18961 (CP INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) - 100-18956 (CP NEGRO QUESTION) - 100-12459 (FLO HALL) - 100-19431 (CP STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (JOHNSTONE CP CLUB) - 100-3*8401* - 100-8495 (COMINFIL - USW) - 100-18685 - 100-23753 (COMINFIL - UE) - 100-8247 - 100-18209 (CP PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS) - 100-38099 (CHICAGO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE) 1 - 100-38152 (LIEBER CP CLUB) 1 - 100-38101 (HAYMARKET CP CLUB) SFARCHED. 1 - 100-38142 (MACHINISTS CP CLUB) Kiew. Til And RJS:jjs (26)

100-80532 -3/08

1

This information was dictated to written report form on February 14, 1961; transcribed February 16, 1961 and authenticated by the informant on February 21, 1961.

ANY USE OF THIS INFORMATION IN A REPORT SHOULD BE CAREFULLY PARAPHRASED TO AFFORD PROTECTION TO THE INFORMANT IN VIEW OF THE LIMITED NUMBER OF PERSONS PRESENT AT THIS MEETING AND PARTICULARLY THE REPORTED CONVERSATION PRIOR TO THE ACTUAL MEETING.

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The literature distributed at this meeting regarding the may be located in 100-38099-1A1.
Regarding that portion of informant's report dealing with to
it is to be noted that
Secretary of the CP in lives in
and has worked closely with in the
past. In view of this, a copy of this chanelizing memorandum
is designated for the file of
Informant's report is retained as
by informant at this meeting, it is noted that the informant on March 6, 1960, identified a photograph of as being this individual.
This photograph identification by the informant was written up in report form on March 6, 1961 and was authenticated by the informant on March 3, 1961. This report is retained as
Informant reports, as: follows:
1/2
February 14, 1961
Chicago, Illinois
During the evening of from approximately 8:35 to 10:30 P M a meeting of Communist

Party (CP) was held at the residence of in Chicago resides in a floor, apartment, at
It was learned that prior to this meeting,
who is a  student at the University of Chicago, had as a dinner guest  a member of the It was also
learned that during this time a discussion was had among these individuals concerning youth activities.  said that a discussion group meets at the University of
Chicago to discuss socialism and current events.  discussed the Congo situation with  and were speculating as to whether was dead
or alive. They seemed to feel that had been killed and apparently gave the impression of not being as optimistic as previous as concerned the Russian position in the Congo situation. It was learned that inquired of
as to his opinion of the reaction of American Negroes to the various issues propounded by Russia in the Congo situation. was desirous of knowing if felt that Russia's position was helping the cause of socialism
among the Negroes. It was learned that indicated that in his opinion the American Negroes' attitude is that they are glad to hear of Russia's opposition to colonialism in the Congo but that they merely hope that someone will
to move in the direction of socialism. Apparently expressed disappointment in this evaluation by
Prior to the meeting, arrived early and engaged in conversation with the and remarked that at present
at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt University a series of classes are being run by college professors. They said that although Party people are not involved the issue of socialism is being discussed at these meetings. It was
remarked that this is considered as an indication of some success in getting people to discuss socialism.

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Prior to the meeting made a long
distance call to not known if this is
in Illinois, to an unknown individual and discussed the
visit of to the Chicago area.
During the conversation remarked that
visit was unexpected and expressed disappointment at not
having known of the wigit beforeherd. The manufact that and
having known of the visit beforehand. He remarked that as
a result they were not able to marshall forces to contact
concerning unemployment.
Also during the informal discussion, prior to
the meeting, made the remark that they were not
having much success with the steel workers. He stated this
is caused by the fact that the unemployed steel workers are
receiving too much money in unemployment benefits to be toe
unsatisfied.
The Educational meeting began at about 8:35 P.M.
and in attendance were
During the meeting, made mention of
the UE and indicated that "they" were not getting the co-
operatin of the UE leadership.
- Pornatur of the ON lender Ship.
did not participate in
during the meeting but left before the meeting
began.
man and a second
Discussion at the meeting concerned a
reading the discussion. neid a private
discussion between themselves prior to the actual meeting.
It is not known what they discussed.
·
Both stated the Party wants to get
a better educational program in all the clubs. They noted
that literature seems to be no problem and the only
complaint made was that at present the "Political Affairs"
- 7-1 KAD DIGG NO PLODONO VAC TOXX CACAL MILETIS
order is too large in that all of them are not being sold. Both expressed a need to make sure that some time is devoted

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**4** -

to education at every club meeting.

CG 100-18338

The question of education should be divided into two considerations: 1. The inner Party program and 2. A general educational program to encompass anyone that can be influenced by Party members.

commented that Party members should not try to bulldoze the issue of socialism into a discussion but that they should use more subtle means. She said the important thing is that people must be made class conscious. She said that it does not matter whether this class consciousness is arrived at through a discussion of Bor issues, civil rights, or through any other issue that it is elt can be used effectively with a particular individual. She said that it is foolish to attempt to argue in the United States that the socialist system is better than capitalism in the United States. She said that if Party members can get people in labor to become class conscious then they have begun to move the base towards socialism. She said this is the tact that should be used with non-Party people.

reported that his club had made plans to hold informal classes at which movies of the Soviet Union would be shown. The idea is that members of the would bring anyone to these classes that they felt could be influenced. objected to the idea of discussing Soviet films at these classes. It was her opinion that this method would be too direct, and that the club should use other issues to drive these individuals toward class consciousness.

announced that there will be a general Literature and Educational Conference on March 10, 1961, at 333 West North Avenue. This meeting is to begin at 3:30 P.M., and she urged all to attend. wanted this to be an all day conference but disagreed. They both felt that two hours would be sufficient, and it was agreed to hold this meeting beginning at 3:30 P.M. for two hours.

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CG 100-18338

also announced that HERBERT APTHERKER is to speak in Chicago on February 18 and 19, 1961, on the Civil War. The meeting on February 18 is to be held at and the meeting on February 19 will be announced at a later date. These meetings are also to serve as fund raising meetings, and each club was requested to bring a cake to the February 18 meeting.

During the meeting those present were given literature and registration forms for the Chicago School of Social Science which is to begin classes on February 27, 1961.

The literature set forth a schedule which noted that classes would be held Monday through Thursday from 7:45-9:45 P.M. and on Saturday from 1:00-3:00 P.M. Topics for the classes are to be as follows:

- 1. Coexistence and Competition Monday
- 2. American Labor and the Economic Crisis Tuesday
- 3. Cuba and Latin America Wednesday
- 4. African Liberation Thursday
- Foundations of Marxism Saturday

Those present were to take the registration forms back to their clubs and attempt to have as many as possible register for the classes. The regular tuition for these classes are \$5.00, \$7.50 for couples, and \$2.50 for students or under 20.

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meeting	would	be	held	on					

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CG 100-18338

March 6, 1961 Chicago, Illinois

who attended	b71
a meeting of the Communist Party	
Directors held on February 10, 1961, at the residence of	
in Chicago, has been identified as	
through observation of a photograph of	

SAC, CHICAGO (100~13200)

3/28/61

SA PAUL B. FRANKFURT

COLLUNIST PARTY, USA ILLINOIS DISTRICT -PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS IS - C

On 3/15/61 (Code Name), PSI, who has furnished reliable information in the past, provided SAC DANIEL J. EURLEY and PAUL B. FRANKFURT with handwritten information pertaining to a Freedom of the Press Coumittee forum 2/19/61 featuring HERBERT APTHEKER. The original information is being maintained in and is as follows:

1 - New York (RM) 1 - 100-(HERBERT APTHEKER) 9 - Chicago - 100-3301 1 - 100-13685 1 - 100 - 351271 - 100 - 377371 - 100 - 13233(CP, USA, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - NEGRO QUESTION) 1 - 100-13953 1 - 100 - 13054(CP. USA, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - DONESTIC ADM ISSUES)

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March 15, 1961 A Freedom of the Press Committee forum was held in the Music Room in the Fine Arts Building at 410 South Michigan, Sunday, February 19. Mr. HERBERT APTHEKER was the speaker of the evening. The topic "The Civil War Centennial". There were about 130 people present; among those present were: CONNIE NEUHAUS DAVE ENGLESTEIN CHUCK WILSON FRANCES CURRY GRACE FOSTER FRITZI ENGLESTEIN APTHEXER's speech consisted mainly of 15 points which were lessons that the American people should have and can learn from the Civil War. He mentioned the need for more troops and that the government deemed impossible to aim Negroes and have them fighting with white men against white men. Since the need was so urgent they, the government of the U.S., enlisted some 250,000 Negroes who fought in the Civil War. He also set as an example of nonviolent resistance against discrimination a group of Negro soldiers in Massachusetts who refused their pay for several months because they were being paid about one-half as much as white soldiers. This action brought about the desired result, equalized pay, without violence. APTHEKER stated that the "ruling class" in this country recognize and like FRANCO, while lifting their hands in horror at FIDEL CASTRO. He drew a parallel between the 13th and 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the U.S. and the liberation of properties belonging to U.S. citizens in Cuba by CASTRO. **-1-** APTHEKER said that President KENNEDY would only have to sign an executive order refusing federal funds to any institution of higher learning that practiced racial or religious discrimination of any sort, to make it possible for a Negro to be able to attend any school of his choice.

At the conclusion of the program a question and answer period was held. Among the questions discussed were: The dangers of the Fascist factions predominant among the young people of the U.S. today; and the importance of economic and political change being necessary to combat segregation and oppression of the Negro, Semitic, and other minority groups.

TO:

SAC,

DATE: 3/29/61

FROM:

SA SEBASTIAN S. MIGNOSA (424)

SUBJECT: THE WORKER

IS - C

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- New York
                    (100-9365)
 1 - New York (100-21444)
 1 - New York (100-1337<u>88</u>
    - New York (101-559)
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 1 - New York (100-132462
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                                        HMGAR) (412)
    - New York (100-47738)
 1 - New York (100-102690
 1 - New York (100-125496
 1'- New York (100-80532) (H. APTHEKER) (415
 1 - New York (100-57965
1 - New York (100-79025
    - New York (100-16021
 1 - New York (100-16785
1 - New York (100-18065)

1 - New York (100-23825) (B. DAVIS) (414)

1 - New York (100-128819) (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (414)

1 - New York (100-128815) (NEGRO QUESTION) (415)

1 - New York (100-105078)

1 - New York (100-26018) (Louis Weinstock) (415)
    - New York (100-1596
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SSM:ml ^/(33)

100-80532-3110

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Identity of Source	
Description of info	3/3/61, Happy Birthday Party for WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and "The Worker"
Date Received	3/9/61
Original Located	
A copy of informant's re	eport follows:

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3/9/61 New York, N.Y.

On 3/3/61, there was a happy birthday party for WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and "The Worker" held at Carnegie Hall, 7th Avenue and 57th Streets, N.Y.C.

There were about 1700 people in attendance including the following:

PAUL SCHRIEBER
CAROLINE SCHRIEBER
JESUS COLON
HY WALLACH
PEARL WALLACH
JACK YELLIN
ANNE YELLIN
LOU KRANES
PAULA KRANES
JOE BRANDT
SYLVIA BRANDT
SHERRING MILLS
ARLENE PARETS
SAM GRUBER
SAM UNGAR Who was a

SAM UNGAR who was at the 2/24/61 meeting of the West Side Committee for Cuban American Friendship

CLARA RUBENS
ANN TOMPKINS
SOPHIE GROSSMAN
HERBERT APTHEKER
DONAH LITHAUER
MILDRED MC ADORY
ARNOLD JOHNSON

JAMES JACKSON, Editor of "the Worker" opened the meeting by reading telegrams of congratulations to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER from different Communist countries.

 $\ensuremath{\mathsf{JACK}}$  STACHEL spoke of FOSTER's contribution to the labor movement.

BEN DAVIS spoke concerning FOSTER's contribution to the Negro and Puerto Rican minorities. He also called for the recognition of the GIZENGA (ph) movement as the legal government on the Congo.

HY LUMER was introduced and it was stated he had to serve a jail sentence for alleged violation of the Taft-Hartley Law.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK of "The Worker" made the collection. No total was given.

Entertainment was provided by a youth choral group from Philadelphia.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN also spoke and said she hoped the U.S. would go Socialist.

The meeting, which began around 8:00 P.M., ended at about 11:00 pm.

3AC, NEW YORK (100-141893)

3/29/61

SA JOHN R. HAWKEN

YOUTH PUBLICATIONS, INC. IS-C

Identity of Informant

ь7D

(Conceal and paraphrase)

Characterization

Who has furnished reliable information in the past

3/21/61

Date

has reported that on 3/21/01, contacted SEYMOUR (JOSEPH). said she still cannot find out where the convention is to be held, however, she said it will be on April 7th and 8th. said SHIRLEY DU BOIS and (HERBERT APTHEKER) will both speak. Also said she will speak for the Youths. The purpose of the convention is for all persons connected with or involved with Advance, and to find out what has been done in the past and what they plan in the future.

1-NY (100-142060) 100-87531) 1-NY 100-80532) THE PERSON 1-MY 1-NY (100-101676)(100-140667) (ADVANCE) (414) 1-NY (100-141893) (415) JRH: PRIV (6)

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b7C b7D SAC, LEW YORK (160 142702)

3/20/61

SA JOSEPH T. YUIGLEY (:414)

NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR MARKIST STUDIES IS-C

Identity of source

who has furnished reliable inio in paut (conecal)

Description of Info

Persons noted in office of II.Y.S.II.S. 3/10/61

Date received

3/13/61

Received by

SA JOSEPH T. (Widley (Written)

Original location

A copy of informant's written record follows:

1 1.Y 100 0032 (MERBERT AFTATUEA) (41	(د
1 - hY 100 142050 1 - hY 100 135492 1 NY 100 54009 1 - hY 100 142702 (41)	
JT /jem (/)	

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3/11/61

Among those viewed in the office of the New York School for Marxist Studies on 3/10/61 were:

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The office is located on the 19th floor and classes were held in various rooms on the 16th, 17th and 18th floors.

Between classes (8:30-9:00) a book stand was set up in the hallway of one of the floors (17th or 18th) and offered various pamphlets by KAR MARX and writers of Marxism.

A larger selection of the same type of books was observed in the office of the New York School for Marxist Studies.

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Ariestate PT	writin do a truthithit		
MEMORANDU	M	<b>PATE:</b> 3/29/61	
TO:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-9365)		
FROM:	SA ROBERT P. SMITH (422)		
SUBJECT:	WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IS-C		
	Identity of Source		ь7D
	Description of info	37th Anniversary of "The Worker", 3/3/61, at Carnegie Hall, NYC	
	Date Received	3/9/61	
	Original located		
	A copy of informant's repo	ort follows:	ь3 b7D
1 - 100-2 1 - 100-16 1 - 100-16 1 - 100 1 - 100 1 - 100 1 - 100-16 1 - 100-16 1 - 100-16 1 - 100-16 1 - 100-16 RPS: mxg (30)	4994 (GUS HALT.) (415) 6785 696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN 15A,NYD-Domestic 115A NVD-Coloria 2940 3483 59 4275 1647 2625	(p.3) (p.3) (p.3) (p.3) (p.3) (p.3) Administration Issues)(414) (p.4) (p.4)  """ """ """ """ """ """ """ """ """	ь3 ь6 ь7с
	NT'D NEXT PAGE 365	100-80532-31/2	,

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### COPIES CONTID

11111111	- 100- - 100- - 100-	141221 80532 (F 110888 ( 114956 60640 71105	HERBERT APTHEKER)(415) FAY APTHEKER)(422)	(p,4)
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March 4, 1961

On Friday evening March 3, 1961, the 37th Anniversary of The Worker and the 80th birthday of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER were celebrated at Carnegie Hall 57th St. and 7th Ave. N.Y.C. Time: 7:30-11:00 P.M.

Speakers were the following:

- 1. BEN DAVIS
- 2. GUS HALL
- 3. JAMES E. JACKSON 4. ELIZABETH G. FLYNN
- 5. LOUIS WEINSTOCK
- 6. JACK STACHEL
- 7. HYMAN LUMER

The program was opened with the singing of The National Anthem. There was then a brief resume of FOSTER's life starting at the age of 20 and up to the present time.

The speakers were the introduced by JAMES E. JACKSON, Editor of The Worker. While all of the speakers had high praise for Mr. FOSTER, some made other comments.

Most of the speakers called for Federal enforcement. of the 14th and 15 Amendments.

GUS HALL stated that some communists are going to jail on information supplied by a person working for the FBI.

HY LUMER stated that he is one of the Communists who are going to jail. He maintained that the person working for the FBI had been proven to be a liar.

BEN DAVIS stated that the African countries did not trust this country as far as an African baby could throw it and that the JFK administration should work to bring New Orleans and Mississippi back into the United States.

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ELIZABETH G. FLYNN stated that Mr. FOSTER should enjoy being in the Soviet Union and especially in the Nursing home since 80% of the doctors are women.

She also stated that the U.S. is a good country and could be a heaven on earth because it has a great many resources. The only trouble is that the resources do not belong to the people.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK deplored the idea that Mr. ROCKWELL will be allowed to speak in Union Square.

Mr. WEINSTOCK stated that Mr. ROCKWELL advocates the annihilation of all Jews and the granting of limited citizenship to Negroes. Mr. WEINSTOCK also asked for and got contributions to build the Worker. The total amount of money collected was not disclosed. There were approximately 1900 people present according to Mr. WEINSTOCK. In addition, to the speakers, those present were the following:

- 1. JAMES TORMEY
- 2. BETTY GANNETT
- JESUS COLON
- 4. WILLIM PATTERSON
- 5. JULIUS HEIMAN
- 6. REBECCA LERNER & her sister
- 7. JOHN DUIMOVICH 8. BETTY DUIMOVICH
- 9. SAUL GROSS
- 10. RUTH DANIELS
- 11. Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER
- 12. FAY APTHEKER
- 13. ERNA MC NEIL
- 14. HAROLD COLLINS
- 15. FANNY HECHTMAN
- 16. SHRILA BERSHAD
- 17. ALONZO GUYTON

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

то	:	SAC,	NEW	YORK	(1	.00-80532)
FROM	M	SAC,	CINC	CINNA	ĽI	(100-13558)
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នបន្សា	ECT: (	HERBI SM-C	ERT 1	APTHER	ŒF	1 `
		(00:1	VEW 3	ORK)		

Re New York letter to Detroit dated 2/10/61, entitled HELEN WINTER, IS-C, New York file 100-68212. and Cincinnati letter to Bureau dated 3/8/61 entitled copies to New York.

Referenced New York letter indicated subject planned to travel to Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, on 2/16/61. Present Bureau instructions are that no sources are to be developed on the campus of that institution without specific Bureau authority.

Referenced Cincinnati letter on page four, sets forth information received from concerning subject's visit to Antioch College. The only other information in possession of Cincinnati concerning subject's activities at Antioch College is an announcement of the intended visit of subject which was printed in the Antioch Record, weekly newspaper published by the school, in February, 1961.

- RUC -

New York (100-80532) (RM) 2 - Cincinnati (1 - 100-13558) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (1 - 100-1897) (ANTIOCH COLLEGE)

AEG:mac (4)

1100-80532-3114 200-80532-3114

DATE: 3/28/61

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
TO: SAC,

DATE: 3/29/61

FROM:

SA SEBASTIAN S. MIGNOSA (424)

SUBJECT: THE WORKER

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7	-		York	(100-9365) (FOSTER) (415)
1	-	New	York	(100-21444)
1			York	(100-133788)
1	-	New	York	(101-559)
1	-	New	York	(100-79937)
1		New	York	(100-132462)
1	-	New	York	(100-72757)
1	***	New	York	(100-90168)
1	-	New	York	(100-114924)
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1	-	New	York	(100-23825) (B. DAVIS) (414)
1	•	New	York	(100-128819) (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (414)
1	-		York	(100-128815) (NEGRO DIESTION) (414)
1	-		York	(100-105078)
_	-		York	(100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (415)
1	_	Мем	York	(100-1696) (F. G. FLYNN) (415)

SSM:ml W (33)

100 80532-3115

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Identity of Source		
Description of info	Happy birthday partyfor WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and "The Worker", 3/3/61	
Date Received	3/9/61	
Original Located		ь3 ь7г
A copy of informant's	report follows:	

3/9/61 New York, N.Y.

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SYLVIA BRANDT
SHERRING MILLS
ARLENE PARETS
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SAM UNGAR Who was a

SAM UNGAR who was at the 2/24/61 meeting of the West Side Committee for Cuban American Friendship

CLARA RUBENS
ANN TOMPKINS
SOPHIE GROSSMAN
HERBERT APTHEKER
DONAH LITHAUER
MELDRED MC ADORY
ARNOLD JOHNSON

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ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN also spoke and said she hoped the U.S. would go Socialist.

The meeting, which began around 8:00 p.m. ended at about 11:00 pm.



### CONFIDENTIAL

#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York March 30, 1961

Bufile 100-3-69

Re: Communist Party, United States of America -Organization

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 29, 1961, that a meeting of leading functionaries of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) was held on above date at Communist Party (CP) Headquarters, New York City. Among those in attendance were:

Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA
Irving Potash, Labor Secretary, CPUSA
George Morris, Member, Editorial Staff of "The Worker"
Jack Stachel, Member of National Committee (NC),
CPUSA

Phil Bart, Organizational Secretary, CPUSA Hy Lumer, Educational Director, CPUSA Ben Davis, National Secretary, CPUSA Will Weinstone, Member of NC, CPUSA Arnold Johnson, Member of NC, CPUSA Danny Rubin, Youth Director, CPUSA Herb Aptheker, Member of NC, CPUSA Jim Allen, Member of NC, CPUSA

Irving Potash opened the meeting and reported on Trade Union activities. He said that President Kennedy has projected a 12 point economic program designed as an emergency measure to meet immediate needs. The program has been criticized by the AFL-CIO, but the Trade Union Movement, in general, is following the pattern as laid down by the Kennedy Administration.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SEARCHED .

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CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Communist Party, United States of America -Organization

Potash commented that conservative forces are prepared to "trim down" or defeat Kennedy's 12 point program. Potash said, as regards a program of action by the Party, the direction of "our" actions should be to demand from the President, a public crusade, similar to the one Roosevelt conducted in the 1930's.

Potash concluded by recommending that the Party issue a public statement evaluating the economic situation.

George Morris recommended that the Party develop a movement around the shorter work week, old age benefits and develop pressure for a march on Washington.

Gus Hall said that what was needed was a grass roots movement to reverse the reactionary coalition in congress that is hindering the Kennedy Administration and attack it. Hall felt that if the Party were to do this, it would be picked up both by the Negro People's Movement and the Labor Movement.

Jack Stachel recommended that the Party organize a one-day conference as part of its struggle for unity of the left. He said a result of such a conference would be the issuance of a pamphlet or article on the establishing of a unified position.

Ben Davis said that the Party has to concentrate its activity against the forces represented by (Senator) Goldwater and others. Davis said that President Kennedy's "stock" has not fallen in the eyes

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Communist Party, United States of America -Organization

of the Negro or working people, but the question is whether or not the situation will result in a paralysis as a result of the forces to the right with a distinct pro-Fascist character.

Davis cited as an example, the John Birch Society which he said is a powerful force. Davis also stated that there is an organized group of Harvard alumni whose program is that Harvard University is the seat of ideological and theoretical culture in America.

Phil Bart expressed the opinion that if the Party desires to play a role, the left forces have to be brought together. In order for the Party to translate its position into life, it requires an alliance with a number of other forces.

William Weinstone felt that the Party must rapidly consolidate the broader coalition of left progressive forces. He said the Party is seeking the widest possible unity in the country against monopolies and, therefore, its policy must be one in which it works with everybody.

Informant advised that most of the opinions expressed were for a broader program of left progressive forces, united with the Party to fight the growing reactionary force represented by Senator Goldwater, which is putting pressure on the Kennedy Administration.



Re: Communist Party,

United States of America -

Organization

Danny Rubin said that even though the Party disagrees with the Kennedy Administration, it should center its attack against the reactionary forces.

Rubin said it would be very valuable if the Party could show the connection between the "open racist forces and the Goldwater front." He recommended that people be assigned to do research in this and prepare a leaflet, which he said, would be useful particularly among the Youth.

George Morris proposed a letter be sent to President Kennedy to the effect that in general, all sincere people consider his legislative program has to be carried, but think the President has to take the initiative, as President Roosevelt did, to mobolize the people behind his program.

Danny Rubin said there is a new situation developing in college campuses today and nearly every campus has a large growing core on such questions as discrimination, housing, disarmament, Cuba, death of Lumumba, struggle against loyalty oaths, opening of student files to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and security branches.

Rubin said that organizationally these groups are excellent and have good cooperation with other campus groups. Rubin noted that there are also reactionary groups on campus which sometimes tones down the action.

He said that the campus political groups consist of liberal and mass forces who act on all major issues confronting students. He divided the "left" on the campuses into 3 groups:

1. The graduate students who have had experience with the Labor Youth League (LYL) and the Party.

## CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Communist Party,

United States of America -

Organization

2. Younger people, sons and daughters of Party people and of left progressive forces who did not have experience with the LYL. He said among this group there has been a better response to organize left forces and to have relations with the Party.

3. New left students from liberal backgrounds who in their desire for activity have moved to the left, but in general, they remain strongly anti-Communist.

Herb Aptheker said that, within the past six months, he has spoken at sixteen different colleges and has noted that the welcome given to Communists is growing and has a new quality. He noted that his own correspondence has increased and includes many letters from professors and authors who begin by saying they are not Communists but they would like to know the thinking of Communists.

Aptheker stated the Party should have an organized effort to "get ourselves into colleges." He added "it is criminal our literature is not available to colleges and universities." He claimed there is a great demand for it and there are hundreds of book stores and clubs that will take Party literature.

Gus Hall said the leadership should give careful consideration to Aptheker's proposals as "this could provide a major breaktrhough to intellectualism." He commented that there should be a way to guide these loosely formed socialist clubs and added, "It isn't beyond the realm of possibility that we could have a separate student organization."

Hy Lumer mentioned that he had spoken in New Haven a month or so ago to a group of divinity students and was quite pleasantly surprised to find, in the midst of fundamental disagreement with Communists, a good deal of sympathy with "our socialist ideas" from a moral and ethical standpoint. He stressed the importance of quickly working out a plan for

# CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Communist Party,

United States of America -

Organization

going out aggressively for invitations to speak at colleges. He proposed the issuance of a simple folder with a number of names and suggested subjects to be sent to appropriate student bodies and groups.

Phil Bart stated that the Party should work out a line of direction for the student movement. He remarked that the Party should center the organization "where we have it, as far as student work is concerned, in the PYOC" (Progressive Youth Organizing Committee).

Will Weinstone said there is an upsurge in interest in Marxism and it is related to the advance of the Soviet Union in science, art and culture. He commented that generally this advance is related to the tremendous role youth and students played in recent months in Japan and South Korea.

According to Weinstone, a recent issue of the "Moscow News" carried an article indicating a world youth forum will be held in Moscow this summer. He said he did not see any speakers from the United States listed, but he would not be surprised to see 500 or 600 youths go to the forum.

Weinstone favored an independent Marxist organization for youth.

Danny Rubin said the problem at this time is that of building a PYOC where a campus socialist club already exists. He said that Party influence must be strengthened within these campus socialist clubs.

"The Worker" is an East Coast weekly Communist publication.

The LYL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Date: MAR 30 1961

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT (Type in plain text or code)
Via AIRTEL (Priority or Method of Mailing)
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)
SUBJECT: CPUSA - ORGANIZATION IS-C (OO: New York)
There are transmitted herewith ten copies of a letterhead memorandum covering a meeting of leading functionaries of the CPUSA held on 3/29/61, at CP headquarters, NYC.
5-Bureau (100-3-69) (Encl. 10) (RM)

			Me to		
The	confidential	CONTRAC	116474 ROA	TATO CL	
#11C	COMPTRACTORS	BOMEGE	MANUTUCA CA	WOO	

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This memorandum has been classified confidential because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the CPUSA and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

#### COPIES CONTINUED

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1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (415)
1 - New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (415)
1 - New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (414)
1 - New York (100-128255) (DANNY RUBIN) (415)
1 - New York (100-80532) (HERB APTHEKER) (415)
1 - New York (100-89590) (CPUSA-STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (415)
1 - New York (100-80644) (CPUSA-YOUTH MATTERS) (415)
1 - New York (100-128804) (CPUSA-NYD-YOUTH MATTER) (414)
1 - New York (100-128813) (CPUSA-NYD-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISBUES) (414)
1 - New York (100-89691) (CPUSA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (415)
1 - New York (100-95583) (CPUSA-LINE) (415)
1 - New York (100-80640) (CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION) (415)
```

- 2 - '

UNITED STATES GOVE MENT MEMORANDUM

TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI	DATE:	3/30/61	`	
FROM:	SAC, NEW YORK (100-	<b>- 1</b> 44393 <b>)</b>			
SUBJECT:					
On S	2/22/61			đ	<b>7</b> 1
	(conceal	identity),	<del></del>		
telepho	former member of the pnically contacted Inverse RICH and made the followers	estigative C			
is friendly win Washington	New York City;	and desired talks about i stated that	to have being	b	>71
At this time in about in bettering in the CP unture Party had been	was recontacted at ITN P. MC MANUS and PAUS and PAUS stated he had at 1946, believing the the lot of the Negro. The lapproximately 1949, an using Negroes for the lor Negro rights.	UL J.NEUMANN joined the ( Party took ( He stated ) , when he re- neir own nee	on 3/14/61. CP at areal inter he remained alized the	rest	<b>7</b> 1
2-Bureau (100 1-New York (1 1-New York (1 1-New York (1 1-New York (1	(100-' )     (HUNGARIAN DIPLOMATE   LOO-80532) (HERBERT AP   LOO-101477)     LOO-4931) (CRUSA) (#419	PHEKER) (#42	s in the US) <del>2)</del> (415)	b b b	53 56 57 57
1-New York (1 1-New York (1 1-New York (1	100-128807) (ČP, ÚSA, 1 (HUNGARIAN D (FOREIGN POLI (100-135199)	IPLOMATIC AC	s-cuba) (#31 10 <u>0~8053</u>	THE US) (6	Ş
PUN:PPI (N)	William 1 / d	,		FIMES 3 1991 HEAL YORK	

disillusioned with Communist ideology and stated he would go to great lengths to combat the menace of Communism.	
him to furnish information on whom he has termed an avowed Communist.	b7E
The subject according to has admitted to him that he is a CP member belonging to a party group This group which assumed to be affiliated with a cultural section meets nearly every Sunday afternoon at unknown locations.	ъ70
said that on 3/13/61, the subject contacted someone at the Russian UN Delegation in NYC, for the purpose of obtaining one of their representatives as a speaker for one of his where in addition to	<b>b</b> 70
is especially friendly with some members in Washington, D. C., and has been invited with a group from New York City as a guest in Washington, D. C. for a two day period beginning stated that until recently. the subject was going to take advantage of  offered to him by for an unspecified period of time operated government in Cuba As things stand at this time, the subject is undecided as to which choice he will make.	<b>Ъ</b> 7 <u>г</u>

considers to be Communists are HERBERT APTHEKER and JOHN RUSSELE, a graduate of Chio State University and an artist.  In conclusion, said he is extremely friendly with the subject and often spends time in his company. On many occasions during their visits, drinking takes place. advised that is not the type of individual who can take a few drinks and leave it alone. Instead the subject drinks on and speaks freely regarding his activities. While doing so, he often becomes abusive and displays a violent temper when others do not agree with his political thinking. He is highly critical of the FBI and has told he would not hesitate to resort to violence if any one were to furnish information concerning him to the FBI. went on to say is currently  who resides somewhere on  In New York City, and that  cost him a month. Since being  the subject has become involved with  (name unknown)  stated he; will do nothing for she is trying to According		Cuba, has told he would get to Cuba by going to Mexic City where he would contact CP members who in turn make arrangements for the final leg of the journey. commented this is a common way for Communists to enter Cuba to circumvent any problems which might be encountered with the Department of State.	b7D
friendly with the subject and often spends time in his company. On many occasions during their visits, drinking takes place. advised that is not the type of individual who can take a few drinks and leave it alone. Instead the subject drinks on and speaks freely regarding his activities. While doing so, he often becomes abusive and displays a violent temper when others do not agree with his political thinking. He is highly critical of the FBI and has told he would not hesitate to resort to violence if any one were to furnish information concerning him to the FBI. went on to say is currently who resides somewhere on the subject has become involved with (name unknown) has stated he; will do nothing for she is trying to According	/	considers to be Communists are HERBERT APTHEKER and JOHN RUSSELL a graduate of Ohio State University and	₽4D
the subject has become involved with name unknown has stated he; will do nothing for she is trying to According		friendly with the subject and often spends time in his company. On many occasions during their visits, drinking takes place.  advised that is not the type of individual who can take a few drinks and leave it alone. Instead the subject drinks on and speaks freely regarding his activities. While doing so, he often becomes abusive and displays a violent temper when others do not agree with his political thinking. He is highly critical of the FBI and has told he would not hesitate to resort to violence if any one were to furnish information concerning him to the FBI. went on to say is currently who resides somewhere on In New York City, and that	ь70
(name unknown)   has   stated he; will do nothing for   she is trying   to   According		the subject has become involved with	
to she is trying to According		(name unknown)	
		stated he; will do nothing for she is trying	
to the subject is currently		•••	
		to the subject is currently	

was asked if  /in view of the fact he is believed to be  who authored an article appearing in  said he knew the  subject to have written articles for various magazines and believed him to have used	ъ70
It is to be noted the Bureau and Washington Field Office have previous information on in their files on	
advised he would notify the NYO in the event he developed any additional information regarding	ъ70
In view of the subject's position as  Bureau permission  Is requested to continue investigation in this case.	
By separate communication Cincinnati Office is being requested to furnish any information in their files concerning	<b>b</b> 7D
WFO is requested to check Passport records concerning the subject and to remain alert for any information relative to the subject's appearance at In Washington, D. C.,	
Enclosed for the assistance of the Washington Field Office, as one photograph of the subject.	
is described as follows:	
Name Race Sex. Birth Date	b6 b7С b7D
Height Weight Hair Eyes Complexion Residence	

Date received	Received from (name or symbol nu	ımber)	Received by		
2/20/61			LEWIS A.	FAMI	b7
~~~ <del>~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~</del>	heck appropriate blocks)		<u></u>		
in person	]by telophone	□∑ orally □	recording device	written by Informa	ont
If orally furnished and	i reduced to writing by Agent:		Date of Re	port	<del></del>
Dictated 2	<u>/22/61 to Dictery</u>	none	Date(s) of	/20/61	
Transcribed3	/2/61 by J_nice Neigh	er			
	/16/61				
Brief description of a	ctivity or material				
Contact	between				
			File where	original is located if n	ot attached
					b3
Remarks;					ъ7
Hon You	II (RII)				
1 - 100	-80532 (Herbort Apth	elter)			
Chicago	(RII)				
<del></del>					ъ6
1 - 100	-24(29				b7
IP 1 - 100 1 - 100 1 - 100 1 - 100	-9529 -3781 -8745 (OP Strategy -12194 (Herbert Apth -11693 (OP Organizat	] in Industr eker) ion)	у)		
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2/20/61

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922	Tr ue Monta	l contact individu
in concerning	the meeting	; featuring Herber
Aptheter which is to be held	at	on the

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SAC, 3/30/61	b3 b7D
SAC,	
Reurlet dated 3/8/61.	
On 12/14/59, CG 5824-So, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that HERBERT APTHEKER was electe to the National Committee of the CP, USA at its 17th National Convention held in NYC from 12/10-13/59.	d
CG 5824-S* advised in January, 1961, that HERBERT APTHEK was in attendance at meetings of the National Committee of the CP, USA at Adelphi Hall, NYC, on 1/20,21/61.	ER
Recent issues of "Political Affairs", including the Febr 1961, issue, list HERBERT APTHEKER as Editor of that monthly publication.	uary,
who has furnished reliable information in the past, on 12/30/60, made available a mimeographed letter on the letterhead of the New York School for Marxist Studies, 853 Broadway, Room 1922, NY, NY. This letter is dated 12/29/60, and is signed by HERBERT APTHEKER, Director.	
Enclosed for Cincinnati is one copy each of current characterisations for "Political Affairs" and the New York Schoo for Marxist Studies. The sources utilized in the New York Schoo for Marxist Studies, in the same order in which they appear, ar who has furnished reliable information in the past,	<b>1</b> ● b6
in a position to furnish reliable information.	₽ b7D
RUC /00-805-32-3	1/20
(1-100- )(HERBERT APTHEX R)(Info.)	b3 b7D

(1-100- )(HERBERT APTHEX H)(INFO.) (1- New York (100-80532)(HERBERT APTHEKER)(INFO.)(h15) EFU:eu (5)

## 3/31/61

PLAIN TEXT ATRIBY. REGISTERED MAIL 1 DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) 70 : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-31723) FROM SIBJECT: CPUBA - ORGANIZATION CINAL 15 - C b7D on 3/29/61, who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA PORREST F. BURGESS that a meeting of Communist Party of was held 3/27/61, at During this meeting stated there would be a "Hational Organization" (Commission) meeting held in New York City, 4/15/61. announced that the following persons from Philadelphia would attend this meeting in New York b7D City: and one other person (unidentified). b7D announced at this meeting that each CP club shours expresses the need for additional people to attend the forum of the Philadelphia Social Science Forum Committee (PASPC) scheduled to be held at the Adelphia Hotel, 4/21/61, with MERCENT APPREEER as guest speaker. who has furnished reliable b7D on 3/29/61. information in the past, advised that HERBERT APPREXER wrote 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (REGISTERED MAIL)
3 - Mone Yorke (REGISTERED MAIL) - New York (REGISTERED MAIL) 1 - 100-80641 (CPUSA - CROANIZATION) D - 100-80532 (HERBERT APTIERER) ъ3 b7D - 100-(Mrs. HERBERT APTHEKER) 5 - Philadelphia 1 - 100-31723 1 - 100-32067 (CPUSA - EDUCATION) 1 - 100-43650 (PSSFC) 1 - 100-42205 BUD A (CINAL, LIBRARY)

WEH! ARD

AIRTEL

PH 100-31723

a letter to JAMES DOLERN in which APTHEKER stated he forgot that he promised to speak in Pilladelphia 4/21/61. APTHEKER wrote that his wife was going to Europe and leaving him at home to care for their young child, so APTHEKER was not available for any out-of-town engagements while his wife was away. DOLERN added that APTHEKER failed to mention that he would make any efforts to secure a replacement for himself.

on 3/29/61.	described	THOMAS NADRIED as District
Chairman, CFRPD:	James Dolsen 🛎	s District Press Director,
CPEPD; FRANCES GAI	BOW as Distric	t Organization Secretary,
CPEPD; JEAN FRANT	JIS and	as members of the CPEPD.
the information regard:	ing the "Matio urces used in	s being prepared because nal Organization" meeting the characterization of each of whom has furnished

b7D

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# PHILADELPHIA SOCIAL SCIENCE FORUM COMMITTEE (PSSFC)

A source advised on 11/14 and 17/58 that a meeting of the District Education Commission (CPEPD) was held 11/13/58 at 3425 Powelton Avenue, Philadelphia. At this meeting, DANIEL RUBIN, District Education Director, presented a proposal for a series of forums under the nominal sponsorship of the Philadelphia Social Science Forum Committee (PSSFC). The source stated that PSSFC was merely a paper organization, and this series of forums was organized by the District Education Commission (CPEPD) and had to be approved by the District Committee, CPEPD, before being put into effect.

This source stated 6/12/59 that the PSSFC remained under the control of the District Education Commission, CPEPD. It was planned by RUBIN that a new series of forums would be conducted in the fall of 1959.

The same source related 11/5/59 that a new series of PSSFC forums would be held on the second Friday of each month, beginning 11/13/59, and running through May 1960, at the Adelphia Hotel, Philadelphia. This was announced at a meeting of the District Equation Commission, CPEPD, on 10/29/59.

A second source advised 10/21/60 that a meeting of the District Education Committee, CPEPD, was held 10/18/60, during which it was decided that there would be a series of forums of the PSSFC during the 1960-61 season, the first being scheduled for 11/18/60 at the Adelphia Hotel, Philadelphia,

The second source explained 2/9/61 that the main purpose of the PSSFC is to bring to Philadelphia as well known speakers as possible, especially speakers who have a progressive or Communist point of view and background, and to attract as large an audience as possible to acquaint those in the audience with the views of the Communists on current issues. In this manner the Communist Party seeks to spread its influence among a broader section of the people.

SAC, NEW YORK (100 137765)

3/31/61

SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY (#414)

CROWN HEIGHTS FORUM IS · C

Identity of source

who has furnished reliable info in past(conceal)

Description of info

Crown Heigts Forum, 3/19/61

Date received

3/21/61

b7D

Received by

SA JOSEPH T. CUIGLEY (written)

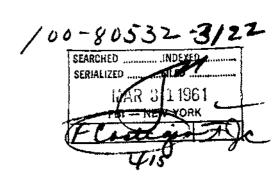
Original location

A copy of informant's written report follows:

100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (415) - NY 100.7918 1 - NY 100 137765 (422)

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JTC/jem (5)



3/19/61

Locture by GUS HALL at the Crown Heights Forum, 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn on 3/10/61.

At about 8:00 P.M. HERPERT APTHEKER introduced GUS HALL, as general secretary of the Communist Party to quak on the "American Political Scene Today."

After some preliminary remarks concerning the need for special permission from the Justice Department for him to come to Brooklyn, Mr. HALL presented unat he called the four "declive issues" facing the KENNEDY administration. According to Mr. HALL, based on their reaction to these issues, judgement can be made as to the character of the KENNEDY Administration. The four issues discussed were:

1) the character of new weapons

2) the impact of the shifted balance of power in the new epoch.

3) the U.S. economic situation

4) discrimination against Negro-Americans

Among the forces working for the good of the American people mentioned by Mr. HALL were, the page movement (later on, in resonne to a question, Mr. HALL sigled out Dr. LINUS PAULING as one of the great world workers for neace; Dr. PAULING's current page petition was available for signing at the end of the evening.), the trade union movement and the youth of America.

Mr. Mall spoke for about one hour cliles various needs for action and various instances where is a speech was good but the proposals were lacking (in connection with Pres. KENNEDY). Ore of the points made by Mr. HALL was that, in spite of laws and court decisions which do accomplish some good, an executive order with the full force of the populace behind it, as needed to end discrimination.

After his speech, Dr. APTHEKER conducted a question period. Euring this period, Mr. HALL referred to J. LOVESTONE as a dispicable" person, long on the payroll of the United States counter-intelligence survice" and now sometimes massigneding as an ex-member of the left.

Mr. HALL mentioned his optimism that nuclear disarrament agreements would be worked out. He also expressed his optimism at the growth of the Communist Party which, having passed through a period of persecution and internal conflicts, was now being strengthened and heartened by seeing results accomplished by its work.

In answer to another question, Mr. HALL admitted that, based on the awaited Supreme Court Decision, the Communist Party could be outlawed under the MC CAMON Act. Ar. HALL said that the Communist Party would not register as foreign agents since they would have to present membership records, financial information and other 'impossible reducets.

Perore closing the meeting at about 10:00 P.M., Dr. APTHECER reminded the group that literature was available (Those included: The Peking Review, Mainstream Folitical Affairs, Campus Rebels, New Morizons For Youth and pamphlets and books by, amongst others, MAURICE DOBBS, GUS MALL and HEREERT APTHECER. Also available was New Yorld Review and Far East Reporter, as well as Marxish Today. All or this literature was also available before the Leebure started.

There were about 50 people present.

Dr. APTHEKER than'ted everyone for coming, invited them to sign Dr. PAULING's petition, thanked GUS HALL for coming, announced that the next meeting would be on April 16 when PAUL NOVAK (editor of the Freiheit) would speak on the problems of the Jewish People and then closed the meeting.

Additional - in answer to another question, Mr. HALL said that although the reason for the Peace Corps was obviously for the alongation of imperially interests, when the young people saw the world as it really is, they might backfire on monopoly business and the Peace Corps would probably then be withdrawn.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT M E M O R A N D U M

ano

SAC, CHICAGO (100-18209)

DATE: 2-3/-6/

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FROM

SA PAUL B. FRANKFURT

SÚBJECT:

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA ILLINOIS DISTRICT -

PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS

IS - C

On 3/15/61 who has furnished reliable information in the past, provided SAs DANIEL J. HURLEY and PAUL. B. FRANKFURT with handwritten information pertaining to a 2/19/61 meeting sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee at which HERBERT APTREKER spoke.  The original information is being maintained in and is as follows:
O-New York (RM) HERBERT ABTHEKER)
1 - 100-18685 1 - 100-34010
1 - 100-3301 1 - 100-13263
1 - 100-13263 1 - 100-37737
1 - 100-35127
1 - 100-12459 (FLO HALL)
1 - 100-19085 1 - 100-18956 (CP, USA, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - NEGRO QUESTION)
- 10 - 805 32 - 3123
PBF: p1b (12)  SERIALIZED  SERIALIZED
FBI - NEW YORK SERMED FILED

March 15, 1961 A forum was held, sponsored by the "Freedom of the Press Committee," in the Music Room at the Fine Arts Building, 410 South Michigan on Sunday, February 19th. HERBERT APTHEKER was the speaker on the topic "The Civil War Centennial". About 130 people attended, among them were: CHARLES WILSON CONNIE NEUHAUS DAVE ENGLESTEIN FRITZIE ENGLESTEIN GRACE FOSTER FRANCES CURRY FLO HALL SARAH JONES APTHEKER spoke of the many speakers being sent over the country especially in the north, teaching rascism and policies of discrimination. He stated that the ruling class in this country like and recognize FRANCO, and lift their hands in howrow at FIDEL CASTRO He drew a parallel between the 13th and 14th Amendments and the "liberation" of properties of United States citizens by FIDEL CASTRO, in Cuba. Mr. APTHEKER listed fifteen "lessons" to be learned from the Civil War. He mentioned little children not allowed to go to school because of race, and remarked that President KENNEDY could, by signing his name to an executive order, make it possible for a Negro to attend any college for which he is qualified. "The only problem" he said sarcastically, "is that he can't find his fountain pen." A question and answer period concluded the program. - 1 -

SA NEIL P. DIVERS

15\*U

advised on 3/23/61, that CLARENCE HATHAWAY was in contact with BETTY (GANNETT). CLARENCE stated he was in the middle of a meeting——it is a meeting with JIM (TORMEY) and some people who are interested in peace.

BETTY indicated that "the big shot" (HERB APTHEKERY) called her and stated that he would not attend any meetings that we decided on —— and that he would only stay through the summer. BETTY said that in other words, he will only remain as the head of the institution through the summer and we should start looking for somebody —— in other words he's resigning. BETTY added that then whe she advised the man that he shouldn't discuss "that" ever the phone, the man retorted that BETTY was not to tell him how to discuss anything.

1-New York (100-13483) 1-New York (100-15946) (1-New York (100-80532) (HERB APTHEKER) (415) 1-New York (100-5106) (414)

NPD: Jor (4)

SEARCHED SERIALIZED FILED APR 3 1961
FBI - NEW YORK

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3/28/61

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-0-132543)

SA THORNTON M. WOOD (#413)

UPPER EAST SIDE FORUM CONDUCTIES IS-C

On 2/16/61, the writer received by mail a
west than remort from
MY, MY, at an affair held by captioned organization 2/12/61, at Estenian Hall, 2061 Lexington
organization 2/12/61, at Estenian Hall, 2061 Lexington
Avenue, NY, NY. This report is filed in 100-0-132543D.
The report prepared byattached
an announcement of the meeting which was written in both
Reservable and Register and appropriate that JAMES E. JACKNOW.
Editor of "The Worker" and JULIO MEDINA of the JLY 25 Movement,
who is described as just back from Cuba, would be the featured
speakers at this affair.

According to source, appreximately 50 persons attended the meeting of mixed types, Negroes, men and women speaking a foreign language not known to her.

The program advertised speakers in both Emglish and Spanish; however, none spoke Spanish and there were none in the sudience who appeared to be Puerto Rican.

REC) (41) RESERVE APPRICANSOVIET PRIMADSMIP) (41)

TMM smml (7)

SEARCHED NOE SERIALIZED FILED

NY 100-0-132543 JULIC MEDINA was the first speaker. His English was very poor and difficult to understand; however, source stated she caught several phrases like, "The Cuben revelution is not a Communist revolution," and that Cuba was receiving industrial aid from Poland, Casehoalevakia, East Germany and China and ..... He stated the Cuban people are now more moral and the Yankese had brought gambling and prostitution to Cuba. A movie of Soviet workers was next shown which, it was announced, was through the suspices of the American Soviet Priendship Council. According to source the movie showed Seviet workers stoking coal and felk densing with English dialogue which no one could understand because of poor accustics. The film lasted twenty minutes. Following the movie JAMES E. JACKSON spoke, Source, having made notes of this, reported the following in order of JACKSON's speech: "Lenin always spoke of two periods of time. There was before and after the Russian Revention. Now there is another date in modern history. This date is from 'a new stage in maturity in which the main feature is that the forces of socialism in the vanguard of which struggle is the Soviet Union and linked to this is the new bloc of nations which are leading socialist forces everywhere who want a better life free from the exploiters. " These new forces have produced a holocaust in the imperialist casp. The three features of this new world are.

"'First, the phalanx of fighters for peace have produced a world without armaments or army. Mankind now has within its power the ability to prevent the outbreak of a particular war and a general thermomelear war now and in its future;

NY 100-0-132543 " 'Second, the colonial world is in general collapse. It has run its course...the peoples of Latin America will follow the precept of Cuba in throwing off colonialism and built a more prosperous life for its pegle.' JACKSON then talked about there being overproductivity in the United States and automation throwing people out of MOTE. " 'There is a Communist Party in the United States, ' he continued, 'which is increasingly attracting to itself the most thoughtful of youth, Negroes, intellectuals and technical people, which has come to admire socialist science... these people are working among the majority of the American people ... It will be necessary for the working class to ask the government to compal espitalists to invest for the peoples needs instead of profit. Restriction will be placed by the government on the capitalists. There will be an anti-monopolists program. The capitalists and monopolists will be curbed and this will be the context of the class struggle which will enfold. In what forms will this intervention take place? To benefit only empitalists or all of the people? ... " 'The Czechoslovakien and Hungarian revolutions were achieved peacefully because those countries were nextdoor neighbors of the Soviet Union but now world socialism is sufficiently strong that proximity is no longer necessary. Cuba broke away from this bondage to the United (States). This was a consequence of the new relationship of forces combined with the forces in Cuba. Tiny Cuba with its small side army challenged the big United States with its rockets and airplanes.... " 'Second, the countries emerging from colenialism are by-passing capitalism and taking the non-capitalist course. Cuba, for instance, is taking the course of national democracy; taking a socialist course, in which the state owns the means of production, the land; in which there is public service and housing. - 3 -

### NY 100-0-132543

"'What does this mean to the development of the class struggle in capitalist countries? Today, the world offers a new tempo and pattern to meet the basic and urgent needs of people. The world of inequality, of monopolists cartels with their headquarters in Wall Street, is beset by scute contradictions and problems.

"The struggle is between the workers and american people against the monopolists. There will be a transformation from this cumbersome, foolish system which served but a handful of monopolists...it becomes possible to organise effective transition from our own society from a capitalist to a socialist base thanks to this new relationship of forces."

At this point a woman named MARTHA asked if this would come about peacefully. JACKSON stated that it would, thanks to this "'new' relationship of forces, but nothing will come without taking advantage of world opportunities and without struggle."

MARTIA LNV went to speak with JACKSON asked him when he thought international socialism would triumph in this country. JACKSON replied that it would happen by 1976.

Source stated MARTHA LNU was and stated she lived in the borough of the Further advised she attended many meetings of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) and that her "idol" was HERERT APTHEKER. At one point MARTHA commented that one gets so discouraged when you see all the injustices in the world but "we" know all the answers so it is not as bad as with most people.

The remainder of source's report, which pertains solely to captioned organization and the above-described affair, is being retained in the above-described serial in 100-0-132543. Attached to this serial is the announcement of the meeting received by source, a mimeographed press release source of this affair which was released for publication 2/19/61. The copy of "The Deqlaration of Havana" has been destroyed.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

: SAC, New York (100-80532)

DATE: March 30, 1961

FROM : Director, FBI (100-123974)

SUBJECT:

HERBERT EUGENE APTHEKER INTERNAL SECURITY - C

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

There is enclosed herewith for the information of the New York Office a Photostat of an article entitled "The United States: Main Bastion of Colonialism" written by Herbert Aptheker which appeared in the February, 1961, issue of "International Affairs." This is a monthly journal of political analysis published in Moscow, Russia.

This article should be considered in connection with your next investigative report on the captioned individual.

Enclosure

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# ${\it 1}{\it emorandum}$

TO

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

DATE:

4 APR 1961

FROM

SA ROBERT S. MUGAVIN (#414)

SUBJECT:

HERB APTHEKER

on 3/20/61,

IS - C

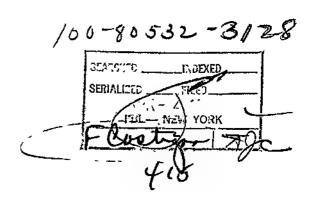
who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the

following:

BETTY GANNETT at CP Headquarters, NYC, contacted HERB APTHEKER. GANNETT stated that SAM had been at headquarters and had suggested they meet Wednesday at 12:00. GANNETT suggested they have it at the school office. APTHEKER said that would be all right with him.

1\_- New York (100-13483) 1/- New York (100-80532) Ъ6 b7C

RSM:pas



**b7D** 

SAC, NEW YORK (100-5106)

4 APR 1961

SA ROBERT S. MUGAVIN

IS - C

ъ6 ъ7С

b7D

On \$/23/61, who has furnished reliable information the past, furnished the following:

BETTY CAMMETT at CP Headquarters; NYC, contacted CLARENCE HATHAWAY and asked how he was doing. CLARENCE replied okay, and mentioned that he was in his second meeting that day. He said that JIH and he are meeting with some people who are interested in peace. CAMMETT replied that CLARENCE might as well settle the date of April 3 with them. She asked how JIH was getting along, saying he was sick on 3/22/61. HATHAWAY replied that JIM Mid down for an hour or so and did not have any more nosebleeds and was going to contact a doctor. CAMMETT said that also was fine.

CLARENCE said that he was improving every day.

GANNETT mentioned that she had told CLARENCE about the two people she discussed with HATHAWAY yesterday. The 'big shot' Just deliver GANNETT and told her he would not attend any meeting they decided on and at the end of the summer he is resigning as head of the institution. GANNETT was that is two resignations, the 'other guy told her today (3/23) that he was resigning.

1 - New York (100-13483)
1 - New York (100-15946)
1 - New York (100-80532) (HRRB APTHEKER) (MAS)
1 - New York (100-5106)

BSM: pas

4PR 1961

SAC, NEW YORK (100-128914)

SA ROBERT S. MUGAVIN

MYD CP ONGANIZATION IS - C

on 3/23/61, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following:

on 3/23/61, BETTY GANHETT and WILLIAM PATTERSON held a conference in GANNETT s office at CP Headquarters, NYC.

CANNETT remarked that she had told MERR APPREER that no one was telling him how to discuss anything. APPREER said that she did not need to tell him what needs to be discussed. GANNETT said that she had replied, yes sir, yes sir, yes sir. GANNETT said that that is all one can do with a guy like that. She said that HERR will stay on as director until the end of summer when they find a full time person.

APTHERER told her that he wanted her to know that whatever she discussed with SAM DLUGIN had to be checked with him first. GAMMETT said she replied that all she was trying to do was to decide when they have another session together. She said she ended on the vein that they all have to give and take. She saided what can you say for such arrogance.

1 - MY (100-13483)
1 - MY (100-84275)

1 - MY (100-80532) (MRRB APTHEKER) (#415)
1 - MY (100-142782) (MY SCHOLL FOR MARKIST STUDIES) (#41)
1 - MY (100-3283)
1 - MY (100-32826)
1 - MY (100-80633) (CPUSA-EDUCATION) (#415)
1 - MON YORK (100-128814)

RSM:pas (8) b7D

b6 b7С <sup>1</sup>

GANNETT continued that now they had JIM ALLEN as the head director of the Party, a man who does not know the Party line, who has never been in a club. She asked, what is this. Just because he is a doctor, is a scholar? Educational work has to serve the Party, not individual comrades. What does ALLEN know about the Party? He does not even know what the Party looks like.

PATTERSON asked if there were any problems for anybody.

GANNETT said yes, the board's agenda. She proposed an agenda to take up a few organization questions. The civil review affair, and the April 21 abolition of the Un-American Committee meeting at the St. Nicholas Arena. GANNETT said she would have the tickets next week for that affair. GANNETT said that PATTERSON could report on the NALC.

# UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

### MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/31/61

OT

SAC, NEW YORK (100-118525)

FROM

SA ROGER O'MARA #421

SUBJECT:

BCLC

IS-C

Identity of Source

Description of info

Date Received

Original Located

A copy of informant's report follows:

يلم	Ĩ.	<u>,                                    </u>	New	York	(100-80532)(HERBERT APETHKER)(422	)
	ī	- -	New	York	(100- )(OLIVER NORTON)	
	1	_	New	York	(100-93971)	
	1		New	York	(100-13447)	
	Ţ	-	New	York	(100-18272)	
	1	_	New	York	(100-82157)	
	l	-	- •	York	(100-133481	
	1		New	York	(100- )(FNU, ZIEBEL)	_
	1		New	York	(100-136397)	
	1	-	New	_	(100-131345)	
	1	-	New	York	(100-137538)	
	1	-	New		(100-134545)	<b>-</b>
	1	-	New	York	(100-89179)	l

## COPIES CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

1 - New York (100-118525)(41)

RO:kmk (26) 100-80532-3131

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b7D

F. Conting 1970

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)(LOU LASKY)
1 - New York (100-
               (100-23773)
1 - New York
               (100-83378)
1 - New York
               (100-132678)
1 - New York
               (100-90565)
1 - New York
               (100-114426
1 - New York
               (100-100442
1 - New York
               (100-133566
l - New York
1 - New York (100-137214)
1 - New York (100-86965)
1 - New York (100-7629) (NAACP) (41)
```

b6

b7C

- 1A -

NY 100-118525 2/25/61 at a mass meeting by the Bronx E.C.L.C.

On 2/21/61 at 8:30 P.M. at 683 Allerton Avenue there took place a lecture by HERBERT APTHEKER and OLIVER NORTON

Those identified There were about 90 persons present. were MINNIE KALMUS, SAM and EDNA NESIN, BELLA HALEBSKY, DORA ZIEBEL and her husband, BEA and STANLEY STEIN, ANNA DOUHA, PAULA MICHTON, BELLA ALTSCHULER, LOU LASKY, FERMIN CAMENIR, HYMAN GOLDTEIN, HELEN FELLMAN, WANDA HARTUNG, GOLDIE LEVITT, HILDA BROWN, JÉANETTE ROSENBERG, and TANYA ROSENBERG and JAKE WITKIND.

HERBERT APTHECKER said his topic was brotherhood week but he used most of his talk accusing ex-president EISENHOWER of being friendly with southern racists and having more patience with them ahan with CASTRO. His complaint against President KENNEDY was that the President talked big but took no action. He also siad that the Negroes part in the Civil Was was very much underrated.

The next speaker was OLIVER NORTON, former secretary of the Bronx NAACP who gave an explanation of his organization's program on integration. With his talk the meeting ended to be followed by a collection and refreshments.



SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782)

4/3/61

SA SEBASTIAN S. MIGNOSA (424)

NYSMS IS-C

Identity of Source

ь3 ъ7D

Description of info

Dr. APTHERER'S at the NYSMS

class

Date Received

3/16/61

Original located

A copy of informant's report follows:

( <u>l 100-80532 (APMERSERH</u> 415)	
1 - 100- (412)	
1 - 100-142344	
1 - 100-143645	
1 - 100-138906	
1 - 100-142782 (NYSMS)(41)	

b3 b6 b7C b7D

#SM: mxg (7)

> 10080532-3/32 Floating

3/16/61 New York, N.Y.	
The Herritary APTHEKER taught his course, at the New York School  For Marxist Study, N.Y.C. The class began at 6:30 PM.	<b>b</b> 7D
Among those present were:	
who attended the class	b7D

APTHEKER spoke about Marxist approach to Nationalism. He stressed common people with common language, common territory and a common economic development.

He said the Capitalists had a false sense of nationalism. They used it only as an instrument to further their own ends.

He said Marxism is not an abstract philosophy but a philosophy of action and use and thought.

He said modern nationalist movement is a fraternal, popular passionate movement. He said this is the type that expresses itself in the Cuban Revolution.

The classeended at 8:00 P.M.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TOs

SAC, NEW YORK

DATE:April 4, 1961

FROM:

SAC, Detroit (100-1549-Sub A)

SUBJECT:

"GLOS LUDOWY"
("People's Voice")
IS = C

ATTENTION: FBI Laboratory, Translation Unit

The edition of the Polish language newspaper, "Glos Ludowy" is enclosed for translation by the Bureau. The translations should follow suggestions previously furnished. Original newspaper should be returned to Detroit with the translations.

XXXXXXX

The 2/11/61 issue of "Glos Ludowy," Page 3A Column 3 of the English Section, contained an article which reflects information pertaining to Individuals or organizations within your jurisdiction.

A Photostat of the article is being furnished for informational purposes and for any action you deem necessary.

The information which pertains to individuals or organizations within your division is being furnished for informational purposes and for any action deemed appropriate.

Translated by: Bureau Translator

Detroit Translator

On December 20, 1960, who has furnished reliable information in the past (protect identity), advised that the "Glos Ludowy" is a Polish-English language weekly newspaper published in Detroit which closely follows the Communist Party line. The entire editorial policy of this newspaper is dominated by CP members.

1-New York ( Herset A) The Ker (
TSK/jm
(1)

100 90532-3134

SAC, NEW YORK (100-137765)

4/6/61

SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY

CROWN HEIGHTS FORUM IS-C

Identity of Source

who has

b3 b7D

Description of Info

Crown Heights Forum

furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

3/19/61

Date Received

3/28/61

Received By

SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY

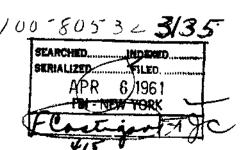
written

Original Location

A copy of informant's written report follows.

1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415) 1-NY 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER) (415) 1-NY 100-137765 (422) b3 b7D

JTQ:ume (4)



### March 24, 1961

On Sunday, March 19, 1961, at 7:30 PM a forum was held at 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, NY. This forum was held under the auspices of the Crown Heights group, with approxamately 30 people attending.

HERBERT APTHERKER chaired the meeting and introduced as the speaker of the evening GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party. The topic of Mr. HALL lecture was on the "American Political Scene Today." His opening remark was on how difficult it was for him to appear in Brooklyn, as he must obtain special permission to travel out of Manhattan. Mr. HALL puned at the fact that today, when mankind is in the process of traveling into space, it is extremely difficult for him to travel from Manhattan to Brooklyn. He gave cognizance to the fact that Communists do not enjoy full legal status, therefore cannot openly work in industry, in proffession, or in government. Communists cannot be openly active members of the party in unions or mass organizations. Mr. HALL called for the rebuilding of the party and its influence, by working with progressive people and progressive organizations. He is optomistic with the sit-ins, the youth, and Mr. HOFFA of the Teamsters union. (He has hopes on some peace organizations). After a question and answer period the meeting concluded at 10:30 PM.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782)

4/4/61

SA SEBASTIAN G. HIGNOSA (424)

NYSMS IS-C

Identity of Scarce

Description of info

Dr. APTHEKER's class at the NYSMS

Date Received

3/22/51

Original located

A copy of informant's report follows:

1 1 1 1	- 100-80532 ( - 100-138906 - 100- - 100-143645 - 100-142344 - 100-142782	APTHEKER 1(415) (412) (NYSMS)(41)
\$\$ <b>(</b> )	SM:mxg	

b3 b6 b7C b7D

b3

ь7D

100-80532 3136

Carry of Je

	3/22/61 New York, N.Y.	
V	Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER taught his class, at the New York School For	b7I
	Marxist Studies, 853 Broadway, NYC on	
	Among those present were:	
		b7I
	who attended the class	
	APTHEKER continued with Feudalism and said there were no political parties under Feudalism. He said all the power was centered in the Lords.	
	He said the bougeois class used the masses for their own advantage.	
	He said that with the rise of the bourgeoisie, the Capitalist system was established. He said that with the advent of Capitalism, political parties came into being.	
	He said that without the support of the masses, the bourgeois can not win its revolution.	
	He said the bourgeois and the start of Capitalism laid birth to the proletariat.	
	He said at the beginning there was no vote for the masses so the masses demonstrated to achieve their aims.	,
	The class ended at 8:50 PM.	
	After class was observed talking to a female and she was overheard telling the female about	b7I
	was overheard telling this female about and telling the female since she did not belong to the Party.	

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO:

from he s

SAC, NEW YORK (100-118525) (41)

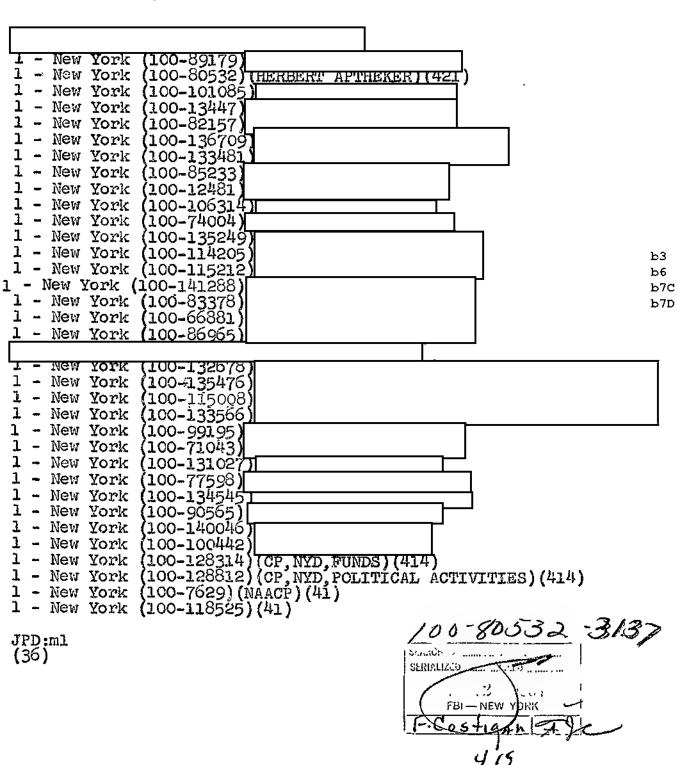
DATE: 3 23 61

FROM:

SA JOHN P. DI MARCHI (421)

SUBJECT: BCLC

IS - C



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Identity of Source	
Description of info	ECLC rally
Date Received	3/3/61
Original Located	

A copy of informant's report follows:

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2/26/61

Report of a meeting at the Allerton Community Center 683 Allerton Avenue, Bronx, New York, sponsored by the Bronx Committee for Civil Liberties (BCLC) on Tuesday evening, 2/21/61.

BELLA ALTSHULER stated that 150 persons were present. The following are some of those who were in attendance:

- BELLA ALTSHULER chairman of the meeting
- HERBERT APTHERER announced speaker
- 3. OLIVER MARTIN speaker 4. SAM NESIN made the ap SAM NESIN - made the appeal for funds
- BELLA HELLEPSHI
- 5. 6. CHARLES FITZPATRICK
- DORA ZEIBEL
- DORA FRIEDHAS
- 9. BERNIE ADES
- 10. DORA SINGER
- 11. BEA LOWENTHAL
- 12. REBECCA GORDON
- 13. REBECCA MINDEL
- 14. REBECCA GUREWITZ
- 15. MORRIS GUREWITZ
- 16. HYMIE GOLDSTEIN
- 17. MIRIAM SINGER
- 18. JACOB WITKIN
- 19. EDNA NESIN
- 20. HELEN FELMAN
- 21. Mrs. HELEN FRANKEL (formerly HELEN BLOCK)
- 22. Mr. FNU FRANKEL (HELEN'S husband)
- 23. JEANETTE ROSENBERG
- 24. SOL FELLER
- SADIE AUGENSICHT
- 25. 26. BERTHA ZULTY
- 27. MEYER BELLIT
- 28. PAULINE MITCHEN
- 29. WANDA HARTUNG
- 30. RALPH SANTO(s)
- 31. HILDA BROWN

SAM NESIN made the appeal for funds. BELLA ALTSHULER announced that \$59.25 was collected from the appeal. RALPH told BELLA ALTSHULER that \$53.00

was taken in at the door. After some of the expenses were paid, \$82.55 was turned over to BELLA ALTSHULER HERBERT APTHEKER was given \$20. for speaking. He returned \$15. to the BCLC for their work, BELLA ALTSHULER said to RALPH, CHARLEY and a few others.

HERBERT APTHEKER in his remarks on certain aspects of the Civil War period stated that the Slave-Owners were reactionaries who were in favor of violent overthrow of the U.S. government.

He was critical of the EISENHOWER and KENNEDY adminstrations because of the breaking off of relations with Cuba. He told the audience that during and after the Civil War the U. S. Government confiscated properties of the South and told the South that there would be no payment. Cuba, he said, has done no differently, yet, he stated the government is very critical of the Cuban regime for doing the same thing.

APTHEKER stated that President KENNEDY if he wished to could end segregation and discrimination in the United States but he is dragging his heels. The Nation, said APTHEKER, suffers because of Jim crow. He said that there was and is a mutual alliance between the Negro and White.

The cry of gradualism relative to integration, he said, is an old one and should be discarded. He cited instances wherein President LINCOLN took action. The Emancipation Proclamation, he said, is a classic example of presidential action. President KENNEDY, he said, can take executive action to end Jim crow if he desired.

OLIVER MARTIN reviewed the plans of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) relative to segregation. The NAACP desires full equality by 1963, he said. The churches, trade unions, political parties all have a stake in this struggle, The Catholic Church, he said, is doing a fine job relative to the question of integration. Negroes, he cold the audience are leaving their own churches and are going into the Catholic Church because of the role of the Catholic Church in the Negro struggle for freedom.

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

TO:

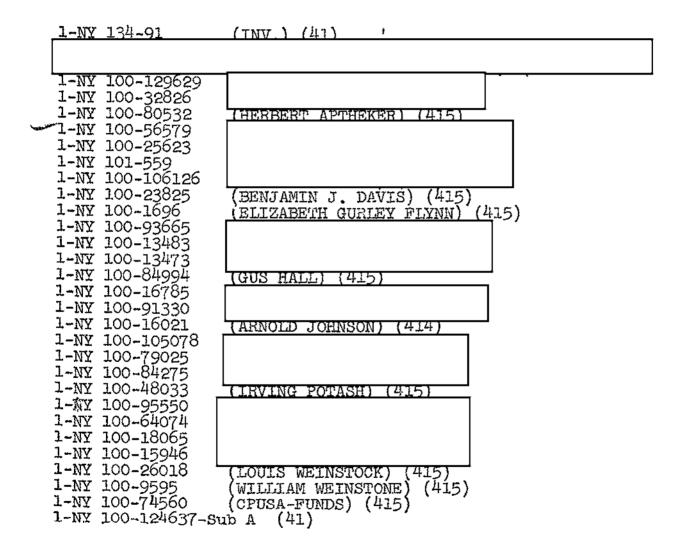
SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637-Sub A) DATE: 4/4/61

FROM:

SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON

SUBJECT: SOLO

IS-C



ACB: ume (30)

will

101-80532 -3/38 . Searched....Indexed...... ' Serialized...E4 APŘ 4 1961 BI-New Nork 475

ъ3 b6 b7C NY 100-134637-Sub A For several years past the Soviets have been transton, D.C.

mitting to the CPUSA, through NY 694-S and CG 5824-S, large sums of money. The informants make this money available to the NYO, which records serial numbers, etc., on bills received from the Soviets, and checks the same against lists of currency issued to Soviet establishments in NYC and Washing-

By letter dated 3/9/61, under the caption "SOLO; IS-C," the Bureau instructed that every effort be made to trace some of the currency expended by members of the Communist Party directly to the funds obtained by the Party from abroad, commensurate with the security of our informants.

By letter dated 3/27/61, the Bureau issued the following supplemental instructions with regard to this matter:

"While it is not desired nor is it necessary to trace all the currency involved, you should make every effort to obtain specific evidence of three or four instances where money funneled into the Communist Party, USA, through this source is later used in the furtherance of Communist Party business and activity. Under no circumstances should you take any action which would jeopardize our informants, but you should be alert when the proper opportunity arises to secure the desired evidence. You should not consider interviewing landlords, restaurant employees, bar keepers or others but should watch for opportunities when communist functionaries are buying airplane, railroad, or bus tickets, or are spending money in other places where they are obviously not known, and contacts by your Agents could not in any way jeopardize the security of our informants."

In order to comply with the above Bureau instructions, it will be necessary that established sources be alerted to

NY 100-134637-Sub A

furnish promptly any information reflecting that CP functionaries are likely to spend money for any of the purposes mentioned in the referenced Bureau letter.

Further, upon receipt of information that a CP top functionary plans to travel, or to expend money in behalf of the CP, it will be incumbent upon the Agent handling such top functionary to trace currency used by the said top functionary for the aforesaid purpose into the hands of a payee, provided this can be done without jeopardizing the security of our informants. Obviously, if the payee is a CP contact, or someone likely to furnish information to the CP, no attempt should be made to contact such a person.

In connection with the currency tracing operation, it should be noted that money from the Soviets has been transmitted to the CPUSA usually in \$10 and \$20 bills, and only on a few occasions in bills of greater denomination. Such money has been made a matter of record in the NYO.

If, as a result of a surveillance, a CP functionary is observed passing currency to a payee who may be approached with full security, the Agent should request that the payee permit him to examine this currency. The Agent need not concern himself with bills in denominations smaller than \$10 since no record of such bills is kept in the NYO.

Upon examination of the currency, the following should be noted and recorded: the type of currency - whether Federal Reserve Note, Silver Certificate, US Note, or National Bank Note; serial number (including any letter prefix or suffix in addition to the actual serial number; series number (including any letter suffix such as series 1950A); and denomination. This information should be submitted to the NYO by memorandum under the caption of the pertinent case file with copies for the case file entitled

on Section #34, and for the case file entitled, "SOLO; IS-C," file #100-134637-Sub A, handled by SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON on Section #41. The memorandum should include a request that

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NY 100-134637-sub A

the serial numbers on the currency passed by the CP functionary be checked against the list of currency furnished to the CPUSA by the Sovietsthrough NY 694-S or CG 5824-S. Section #34 maintains a card index of this currency.

The result of this check of the questioned currency should be furnished in memorandum form to the case Agent and to the Agent handling "SOLO; IS-C" by the Agent handling the case entitled.

It should be noted that for the protection of our informants no information regarding a money tracing operation should be included in the investigative section of a report.

It should be further noted that letters to the Bureau regarding currency checks as above described will be sent under the caption of "SOLO: IS-C."

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## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO

SAC, Buffalo (100-14570)

DATE: 3/30/61

FROM

SA KENNETH P. GLENNON

SUBJECT:

b6 b7C

```
3 - New York (RM)
    (1 - 100 -
                  , MILTON ROSEM)
     1 - 100-
                  , WILLIAM PATTERSON)
     1 - 100-
                  , HERBERT APTHEKER)
1 - Albany (RM)
                  , NEW CP RECRUIT FROM
    (1 - 100 -
             SYRACUSE, Page 5)
```

33 - Buffalo 1 - 100-13501, 1 - 100-12317, 1 - 100-11899, 1 - 100 - 145671 - 100-12082, - 100-12083, - 100-12062 1 - 100-9752, 1 - 100-7708, 1 - 100-11862, - 100-11933, 1 - 100-10450, 1 - 100 - 104541 - 100 - 133221 - 100-14568,

(1 - 100 - 17410)b3 b6 (1 - 100-15910, HERBERT b7C APTHEKER) b7D (1 - 100-11812, (1 - 100 - 4001, 0AW)(1 - 100-4379-89, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (1 - 100-9661, LIBERAL PARTY)

- 100-4379-6, FUNDS) - 100-10086, "THE WORKER") 1 - 100-10086,

1 - 100-11900, 1 - 100-4402, TUMMW)

1 - 100-17272, MASTEN CLUB)

1 - 100-17010, WEST SIDE CLUB)

- 100-17087, PEACE (PROFESSIONAL) CLUB)

1 - 100-17261, ELLICOTT CLUB)

1 - 100-17389, NORTH PARK CLUB)

(1 - 100-17011, TONAWANDA CLUB)

KPG:sgl (37)

SEARCHED K.ei TIEIN

Source:  Reliability: Has furnished reliable information in the past Conceal: Yes Material: Oral report reduced to writing Received by: SA KENNITH P. GLENNON Date Received: 3/3/cl Date of Report: 3/3/6l Date of Activity: Authenticated. 3/15/61 Location:	b3 b7D
Set forth below verbatim is a report received from concerning a special meeting of the Erie County CP Board on . At this meeting there was an introduction of the new sustainer system for obtaining funds for the CP. Other routine business was also discussed.	ъ7D
"March 3, 1961	
"On, there was a special meeting of the Erie County Board of the Communist Party of Erie County. This Board meeting was held at the home of	
	<b>b</b> 7D
"The agenda for the meeting was the following:	
"(1) Check-up on dues and sustainer	
"(2) Report on unemployment by given by	
"(3) 'The Worker'	

- "(4) Next Board meeting
- "(5) Check-up on educational

"On the first point which dealt with dues and sustainer, there was a brief report from various clubs represented at the County Board Meeting as to their action on establishing individual sustainer goals for their Party members. Apparently a number of clubs had not had full discussion on it and there was some questions as to the proposed County Budget. It was moved and seconded that there would be a station at the home of \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ on the \_\_\_\_\_\_ which is a Sunday. This station will be for the purpose of turning in money.

"Following this point, gave his report on unemployment. He said the following:

"Unemployment in the Buffalo area has been growing larger. He went on to indicate that the Rockefeller Administration has passed the law extending the unemployment insurance benefits when the total number of exhausted benefits reach 50,000. He then branched off into a general political analysis, the gist of which was that American imperialism has been blocked from using war as their way out of depression since 1950. He further said that United States imperialists are unable to treat Cuba as they did Guatemala. Cuba has cost American imperialism \$1,000,000,000 in expropriated property. Unemployment increased the radicalization of the working class. Eight per cent is considered a critical level of unemployment by the capitalist class. One out of thirteen is unemployed. Unemployment amongst Negro people is twice as great as amongst white. That the Kennedy proposals on unemployment are essentially a soup-line approach. That the Trade Union movement is planning on spending a billion dollars on housing construction. That MC DONALD has trotted out the question of 30-40 and that he really intends to do nothing about it. said that there are locally in the Buffalo area and the Niagara Frontier area 60,000 unemployed. He said that no attempt is being made by the local government or Trade Union except Mine, Mill to do anything about this. He went on to mention that Mine, Mill has circulated a petition (7 point) and secured 5,000 names in one week. into the question of what the Party has to do. He said we have to launch a fighting program for unemployment, both nationally, state and locally. Called on the State Party to develop a specific

b7D

b7D

"program for the unemployed, as for example a possible march on Albany, or in the Buffalo area, a march on City Hall. Then went on to say that we must study from the Marxist point of view the question of economic crisis 'When does recession become a depression?' Further proposals from were to get the Liberal Party on the ball; contact the Union of Unemployed; possibility of the Party renting a room at the YWCA, which is very close to the Unemployment Insurance Office on Franklin Street, so that unemployed workers could come in there and meet with apparently some program or something.
"Following report, there was a discussion of the report which went around the room. There were a few questions, for example, asked what meant by the favored position that the American working class has occupied up till recently. In answer to this said what he meant was that based upon the expropriation by American imperialist and from foreign markets and from foreign workers they had been able to give wage increases out of this to the American workers as payoff for behaving themselves. All who spoke on the report spoke in favor of it, felt that it was a good report. There were no additional proposals made beyond the ones that had in his report.
"Then they moved to the third point, there is going to be a new 'Worker' sub-drive and fund drive for 'The Worker.' Proposal is 40 subs and to raise \$800. Now this is the way it works down: The national group work which is being headed by group, which is the auto club, will take 5 subs. group, which is the auto club will take 5 subs and 5 additional to mail. The West Side Club will take 5 subs and 5 additional to mail. The Peace Club will take 7 subs and additional 5 to mail. The Ellicott Club will take 6 subs. The North Park Club will take 6 subs. The Tonawanda Club will take 3 subs. There will be an additional 14 papers split up between the North Park Club and the Tonawanda Club for mailing. On the funds, this is the way it breaks down: Professional Clubs - \$225; National Group - \$50; Tonawanda Club - \$25; North Park Club - \$50; Masten - \$50; Ellicott - \$50;

b7D

b7D

"and collection of the money. This point on 'The Worker' for drive and subscription drive was given by announced that would be coming up for an affair of the have a social affair which they will raise money. APTHEK will come up for an affair on campus to be organized by the fessional Group. This they also hope will be a fund raisin fair. There will be a May Day affair to raise money. It is that between these three affairs they will be able to raise additional \$125.	He on the ER or Pro- or af- or he
"The fourth point, the County Board will meet at house at 8:00 p.m. There will be a social affair. indicated that there is to educational meeting of all club chairmen at hothe	be an ouse on
son, before he joined the Party, used to have a lot of left	erson, Society Student is Sated to The Subscrip- Sand Strue Inew Strue Shis per- S-wing Shen Student
"At the meeting just described, ment that he had also contacted in connection with tivities in the UAW. It appears there is a dissident group the UAW which is farther to the left than the group headed	within

File.

It could not be remembered what the name of this group is or how it is designated within the UAW; however, its policies are supported in their entirety by the CP, USA. The purpose of contacting is to get him and active in the UAW in the Buffalo area, to see if they could not further the policies of this dissident group."
Regarding the individual named mentioned in above report, subsequently on 3/15/61 provided additional data concerning this individual and a recommendation for opening a case on will be made when that data is processed.
Copies of this memo are designated to New York in view of interest of that office in WILLIAM PATTERSON, and HERBERT APTHEKER.
Copy of this memo is designated for Albany because of the reference on page 5 to the new CP recruit from Syracuse.
RECOMMENDATION:

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			<del></del> -
Date received	Received from (name or symbol number)	Received by	
2/20/61		Sa Lewis A. Fain	ь71
	(check appropriate blocks)	The same of the sa	
X in person	by telephone by mail Corolly	recording device written by Informant	<del></del>
If orally furnished a	nd reduced to writing by Agent:	Date of Report ;	
Dictated 2	/22/61 to Dictaphone	2/20/61	<del></del>
	/2/61 by Janice S. Meier	Date(s) of activity	
Authenticated 3,	/16/61	2/18/61	
Brief description of	activity or material		
10 m +1	neker meeting 2/18/61		
		File where original is located if not alta	
	1	File where original is located if not und	
			ьз — ь71
Remorks			
. 14	Chicago (RM) (1-100-24729 (1-100- Herbert Aptheker) (1-100- CP Strategy Industriction (1-100- CP Negro Matters) (1-100- NALC) (1-100- NALC) (1-100- Victor Perlo) (1-100-12459 Flo Hall) (1-100- Cominfil USWA) (1-61-867 Claude Lightfoot (1-100-26652 (1-100- CP Pamphlets & Pub	)	ь6 ь7:
2 ~	Cleveland (RM) (1-100- Cominfil USWA) (1-100- CP Strategy Industr	y) Block Stamp	
	New York (RM) (1-100-80532 Herbert Apthek (1-100- Victor Perlo) (1-100- CP Pamphlets & Publications)  /blm i		- 140 - 6

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2 - St. Louis (RM)
    (1-100 - CP Strategy Industry)
    (1-100- NALC)
1 - IP 100-8781
1 - 100-8245
1 - 100-1020
<u>1 - 100-99301</u>
1 - 100-12194 (Herbert Aptheker)
              (CP Organization)
1 - 100 - 11093
1 - 100-12432
              (NALC)
1 - 100-10487 (Sam Kushmer)
1 - 100-6170 (Flo Hall)
              Cominfil USWA)
1 - 100-4317
1 - 100-8236 (GP Funds)
1 - 100-9832 (Claude Lightfoot)
1 - 100-9669
1 - 100-8300 (CP Fublications)
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2/20/61

on Saturday night, 2/18/61,

to attend a meeting featuring

Herbert Aptheker, which was being held in the apartment
of Emanuel Blum.

Aptheker Aptheker was discussing the Negro in the labor movement. He was discussing an organization known as the Knights of Labor, which was a forerunner of the American Federation of Labor. Negroes were originally recruited into the Knights of Labor on a non-discriminatory basis. As the labor movement developed in the United States, the American This labor organization Federation of Labor was formed. organized men in the various crafts. Unions were organized around individuals active in one specific craft. As the AF of L developed, the labor movement began placing restrictions against Negro membership. As a result, the Negro was restricted in the labor movement during this time. Negro membership in the labor organizations was restricted for several years. During the post war years of World War I, Negro membership in the labor organizations was increased. However, shortly after 1920 Negro membership in unions was again restricted. During the 1930s in the great organizational drives to organize the workers which resulted in the formation in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), a large number of Negroes were again permitted to become active in the labor movement. From that period of time until the beginning of Worki War II there has been a tremendous change in the membership in the labor organizations. The Negro has advanced in the labor movement during that time.

Aptheker limited his discussion on the Negro advancement in the labor movement to the beginning of World War II. During the period of time from the 1930s to World War II, there was a big change in the living habits of the Negro population in the United States. Negroes began moving in large numbers from rural areas into urban areas. At the present time most Negroes live in or near the major cities of the United States and are no longer connected

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with the agrarian movement. Following Aptheker's spech, there was a general question and answer.

A woman by the name of Lucille (last name unknown) asked a question concerning the part the Negro working class is playing in the Negro movement at the present time. For example, she cited the movement in the south today. Aptheker stated that most students involved in the sit-in demonstrations going on at the present time were individuals who came from a working class background. Aptheker pointed out that in his opinion most of the white students attending colleges and universities had a middle class background, whereas most Negroes attending colleges and universities had a working class background.

It was Aptheker's opinion that since the majority of Negro students are from the working class, he did not believe that you could distinguish Negro students from Negroes connected with the working class at the present time. He stated that the Negro student is a part of the working class and the wrking class struggle.

Another individual asked Aptheker why there has been a decline in Negro participation in the Communist Party. This individual noted that the decline in Negro membership in the party was greater than the decline of white membership.

Aptheker stated that he believed that this information was incorrect. He did not believe that the decline in party membership was greater among Negroes than Whites. Aptheker stated that he actually thought that the reverse was true. Negroes have maintained Communist Party membership and activity and have continued in efforts to advance the party. Aptheker believed that there was more enthusiasm for the party among Negroes than there was among the white population. For an example, he pointed out that when he speaks in Harlem or other communities with a large Negro population, he needs no protection and does not encounter any interference or harrassment. However, during contacts with predominantly white areas, he is encountered interference, harrassment and intimida-On certain occasions, the police have been called in connection with his appearances. Aptheker noted that

CP membership among the Negroes has declined; however, he felt that it has declined to a greater extent among the Caucasian race. Someone else (identity not known) mentioned that in the St. Louis, Missouri area, the teamsters union has assisted the Negro American Labor Council in organizing Negroes into the NALC in that area. At this time the formal meeting was adjourned by the chairman. It was noted that the name on a notebook carried by the individual acting as chairman was Wilburforth Jones. During an informal discussion that followed, it was brought out that unemployment was running at twelve per cent in the distressed areas in the United States. Someone wanted to know what the percentage of Negro workers would be in this unemployed group. no direct answer given; however, Wilburforth Jones stated that 21.6% of the Negro population in Chicago was unemployed at the present time. Most of these individuals fall in the age group of 18 to 26 years of age. Sam Kushner then stated that the next highest group of unemployed Negroes was the group above fifty-five years of age. An annoucement was made that Victor Perlo would

An annoucement was made that Victor Perlo would be in the Chicago area for a ten day period commencing approximately 3/19/61.

It was observed that Arthur Adams, Emanuel Blum, and Flo Hall were engaged in a discussion concerning the coming National Stes Commission Meeting of the party to be held in Cleveland, Ohio on March 4, 1961. There was no money in the Lake County CP treasury to send any delegates from the Indiana CP District to this meeting. Adams would be able to defray some of his expenses; however, John Boxley is unemployed and could not afford to assist in donating part of the expense money.

Flo Hall mentioned the party in Chicago has set a minimum of \$17.00 per person for expense. Hall agreed that the Chicago CP would pay \$25.00 for representatives from the Indiana CP District to attend. Blum and Adams will attempt to raise an additional \$25.00. Blum stated

that the next time he goe's "east" he will attempt to obtain some donations from relatives and "friends." mentioned that the article on must be prepared as soon as A short article on the possible. should be prepared right away. This can be followed at a later date with a more comprehensive article on this situation. Flo Hall mentioned that she need this information in by Wednesday order to furnish it to morning, agreed to obta<u>in some up to date</u> statistics on the situation in stated he would contact on Monday morning, and obtain this information from him. The following individuals were observed in attendance at this affair: Flo Hall Sam Kushner Emanuel Blum Verra Blum <u>Lucille (last name unknown).</u> Bea Lumpkin Arthur Adams John Boxley Jesse Reese Wilburforth Jones The following pamphTets were on sale at this affair: "The Labor Movement in the South During Slavery" by Herbert Aptheker, published by the International Publishers, New York, New York. "Negro History - Its Lessons for Our Times" by Herbert Aptheker, published by the New Centry Publishers, New York City, New York.

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b6 b7С "On the Nature of Revolution - The Marxist Theory of Sodal Change" by Herbert Aptheker, published by the New Century Publishers.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782)(4)	SAC,	NEA	YORK	(100-142782)(41
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4/7/61

SA MORRIS W. HADDOCK (42)

N.Y. SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES (NYSMS) ÌS - C

Identity of Source

b3 b7D

Description of info

New York School for Marxist

Studies class

Date Received

3/22/61

Original Located

A copy of informant's report follows:

1 - New York (100-80532) (HEREERT APTHEKER) (422) 1 - New York (100-142782) (41)

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MWH tml (3)

> 100-86532 -3141 FBL NEW YORK

NY 100-142782

March 22, 1961 New York, New York

On March 20, 1961, the third class in United States in World Affairs" was held under the auspices of the New York School for Markist studies, 853 Broadway, New York City. The instructor was HERBERT APTHEKER, APTHEKER'S particular topic for the evening was the United States in African Affairs. He specifically dealt with thee areas of Africa starting with North Africa and the Algerian situation Central Africa or the Congo and South Africa or the Union of South Africa. Approximately twenty five persons participated in this class. APTHEKER seemed to be particularly careful in his choice of words and expressions and devoted a good deal of the class to a discussion of African geography. APTHEKER was quite critical of the French treatment of rebel forces in Algeria and made reference to the fact that the French are known to have tortured many of the rebels. One point that APTHEKER was particularly trying to make was that the United States Capitalistic System was merely replacing the French Imperialists in Africa. During the course of the discussion the question was raised as to what was the meaning of "justified war". APTHEKER answered the question by more or less stating that a justified war was one in which the majority of the people benefited, where unjustified war was one in which a minority of individuals profited by the war.

BAC, CHICAGO (100-25191)

4/6/61

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SA CHARLES H. FOLKY, JR.

ILLINOIS COMMITTEE FOR PRESDOM OF THE PRESS IS - C

who has furnished reli provided SA MYAMOND E. pertaining to an ICFP	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
	information is being maintained in and is as follows:
1 - New York (100-	HERBERT APTHEKER) (MM)
CEP: saik (3)	_

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CG 100-25191

Chicago, Illinois March 13, 1961

On February 19, 1961, a meeting sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee was held at 410 South Michigan Avenue. About 100 people were in attendance. The meeting started at approximately 8:15 p.m. The featured speaker was Mr. APTECKER. Admission fee was \$1.00.

The Chairman, name unknown, introduced Mr. APTECKER, the first and only speaker.

Mr. APTECKER spoke on the main lessons of Civil War and gave 15 points as the main lessons. A remark was made by Mr. APTECKER condemning the press (specifying New York Times) for mentioning Ground Rog Day and overlooking the importance of American Negro Freedom Week. Mr. APTECKER also stated as one of his points that ABE LINCOLN got his nomination because of the Communist Party influence in the United States at that time.

The recting adjourned at 10:15 p.m.

Date received	Received from (name or symbol number)	Received by	
3/7/61		ROBERT G. CASEY	ь7: 
	(check appropriate blocks)		
Xin person	n by telephone by mail crally	recording device written by Inform	mant
If orally furnished	and reduced to writing by Agent:	Date of Report	
_	3/8 <b>761</b>	3/7/61	
Dictated		Date(s) of activity	
Transcribed	3/13/61 by Janice S. Meier		
Authenticated 3 by Informant	3/22/61		
Brief description	of activity or material		
-			
Contact	petween	<u> </u>	
		File where original is located if	
			ь3 ь71
Remarks:			
1 4 New	York (RM)		
<b>(1</b> -	100-80532 Herbert Aptheker)		
1 - Chic	cago (RM)		
	- 100-24729		ь6 b7
1 - 10 1	100-11736		~,
1 - 3	100-10496		
	100-9529		
1 - 1	100-9930		
	100-11093 (CP Organization)		
	100-770 100-8557		
	100-8245		
1 - 1	100-11311		
RGC/jsm			
(12)		Block Stamp	
		Dioce cramp	-311

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3/7/61

was in telephonic contact  with On this occasion, inquired of  if she had attended the meeting featuring Herbert  Aptheker held at the residence of of  the CP, State of replied that she had a previous engagement and had not attended although  had done so.	b7D
stated that she had been contacted and asked to attend this affair, but that she had been notified at the last minute and could not make it.	ъ7р
stated that she was surprised to learn that had gone to She stated that she had been contacted by and that had told her of and had also expressed surprise that they had left at this time.	ъ7Д
stated that she is still working as a and that she and her husband, are definitely	ъ7р

# O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

DATE: 4-7-6/

FROM:

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33742)

SUBJECT:

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

FUNDS IS - C

OO: NEW YORK

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE INFORMANT STATEMENT REFERRED TO HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. THE INFORMATION REPORTED WAS RECEIVED IN CONFIDENCE AND DETAILS SET FORTH ARE KNOWN ONLY TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THIS MEETING.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant statement dated March 31, 1961, containing information orally furnished on March 31, 1961, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This informant statement was reduced to writing on April 6, 1961.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)

9 - New York (RM)

1 - 100-32826

① - 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER)

1 - 100 - 129629

1 = 100-

(FNU FINKELSTEIN)

1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)

1 ~ 100-21421 |

1 - 100-74560 (CP, USA - FUNDS)

1 - 100-128861 (CP, USA - RESERVE FUNDS)

1 - 1.00 -

(INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS)

2 - Chicago

1 - A)134-46

M (13)

100-80532 -3144 ADD 10 1961 FBI-LEW YORK Custings FOOT

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March 31, 1961

On Sunday, March 26, 1961, the following was learned from ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG of International Publishers, New York, New York.

At the present time, WILLIAM ALBERTSON is working at International Publishers, but TRACHTENBERG feels it will take ALBERTSON a long time to learn the trade. TRACHTENBERG is not completely satisfied with ALBERTSON and would like to see JIM ALLEN return to the organization.

In regard to the so-called "secret" Party money that TRACHTENBERG reportedly possesses, TRACHTENBERG stated that this consists of \$10,000 that was furnished to him in the past by the Party from Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) reserve funds maintained in New York City. This money, after received by him, was divided into equal amounts of \$5,000 and has been placed in the hands of HERBERT APTHEKER and one First Name Unknown FINKELSTEIN (phonetic) for safekeeping. Both of these individuals will, if the need arises, turn back to TRACHTENBERG at his request smaller amounts of money which can be entered on the company books without causing any suspicion. According to TRACHTENBERG, this money constitutes in full all the "secret" money held by him and he will accordingly advise GUS HALL of this fact.

TRACHTENBERG also indicated that he is about ready to turn over all his property which consists of the publishing firm and its inventory to the Trachtenberg Trust Foundation. Assets which will be turned over will also include the proceeds from possible contractual rights about which he is now negotiating.

In regard to these contractual rights, TRACHTENBERG indicated that he had several offers and was presently dickering with several large publishing houses. These firms are willing to pay him royalties for the printing rights in the United Statesto certain works of international Marxist leaders like LENIN, STALIN, MAO TSE-tung and others. These works would be published by these firms in paper-back editions to be sold at relatively reasonable prices. The royalty offered by one of the firms was three percent and the same firm had guaranteed press runs in the amount of \$100,000 copies. These publishing houses have been dickering with TRACHTENBERG because there is in the United States increased interest by students, scholars and others in the writings

of world Marxist leaders; however, these publications in their regular editions are too costly for the average individual to purchase. If produced as paper-back publications, the publishing houses feel that their sales would be considerable.

TRACHTENBERG also indicated that from time to time a number of the items published by International Publishers are sent abroad to socialist countries where they are translated and reprinted. For the privilege of reprinting these American Marxist publications, these countries transmit to him money as royalties. When he receives this money, he in turn doles portions of this money back to the authors of the various publications but retains for himself sufficient amounts from these funds to cover his own expenses and administrative handling.

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# MEMORANDUM

TO

SAC, CHICAGO (100-25191) DATE: 4-11-6/

FROM

SA HAL H BREMER

SUBJECT:

COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

IS - C

On March 21, 1961. who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided SA BREMER with oral information pertaining to a Worker Forum, sponsored by the Committee for Freedom of the Press held on February 19, 1961, at Chicago, Illinois.

The above information was reduced to writing by SA BREMER on March 21, 1961, and authorsicated by the informant on March 21, 1961.

The original information is being maintained in and is as follows:

(1) - New York (RM) 100-80532 (HERRERT APTHEKER)

- 100-12459 (FLO HALL)

1 - 100-20384

1 - 100 - 4031-100-3301

- 100-13263

I = 100-13967

1 - 100 - 20528

1 - 100 - 33555

1 - 100 - 27070

1 - 100 - 24818

1 - 100 - 256791 - 100 - 24020

1 - 100-21257

1 - 100 - 3338

1 - 100-17808

1 - 100-2748 (SAM KUSHNER)

HHB: bas (19)

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CHICAGO FBI

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CG 100-25191

Chicago, Illinois March 21, 1961

A Worker Forum, sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee, was held at the Fine Arts Building, 410 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illigois, on February 19, 1961.

The following individuals were in attendance at this meeting:

FLO HALL
SAM and MILLIE GOLD
DAVE and FRITZI ENGLESTEIN
FRANK and BESSIE PELLEGRINO
ROSE PILTZ
PAUL CARPENTER
LEROY WOLINS
FRANCES VIVIAN
DOT DAVIES
ESTHER
OTTO WANGERIN
FRED CHRISTENSEN
HERBERT ASTHEKER
SAM, KUSHNER

The main speaker, APTHEKER, was introduced by SAM KUSHNER.

APTHEKER's topic was, "The Civil War Centennial - A Marxist View".

APTHEKER said the only instance of serious assault upon the United States Government, where its overthrow by force and violence was the object, came from the slavocratic oligarchy - the so-called First Families of the South.

APTHEKER continued that the basic defenders of this Republic were its fundamental builders, that was, the producing masses, Negro and White. They leaped to the defense of their country and fought heroically and successfully in her cause. He added that the rich in the South were the traitors, and many of the rich in the North sympathized with them. He said the graft and corruption, the betrayal of oaths were centered overwhelmingly among the wealthy,

CG 100-25191

APTHEKER stated that the struggle against the oppression of the Negro people is a principled one for all partisians of democracy and constitutes a basic feature of the popular history of this country.

APTHEKER went on to say that the contributions of the Negro people as fighters, sources of information and workers, were absolutely decisive in the victory of the United States. He added that Negro-White unity was needed to rescue the nation and to make possible social progress. He continued that International Solidarity which present day reactionaries label seditious was an outstanding feature of the Civil War. The demogratic, anti-slavery purposes evoked support from the rest of the world.

APTHEKER stated that Marxists played an important part in the Civil War as a part of the Abolitionist movement and Communists fought in the Union armies. The First International, led in person by MARX, was vital in organizing international support for LINCOLN. MARX' writings molded public opinion in the direction of LINCOLN's government, both politically and ideologically.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-84994)

4/11/61

SA KARL ROBERT BUCKMAN (#41)

GUS HALL IS - C

Identity of Source

who has

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furnished reliable info in the past (conceal)

Rescription of Info

Talk given by GUS HALL spensored by Crown Heights

Forum, 3/19/61, at 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Date Received

3/20/61

Received by

SA KARL ROBERT BUCKMAN

(orally)

Original Location

Info furnished by informant, as reflected above was distated by SA BUCKMAN to GLORIAMM. GONZALEZ on 3/20/61, transcribed on 3/24/61, and authenticated by informant on  $3/3v/l_0/6$ 

A copy of informant's oral report follows:

(CROWN HEIGHTS FORUM) (422) 1 - NY 100-1 - NY 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHERER) (415)
1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (415)
1 - NY 100- (IDA SPER) (422)

1 - NY 100-84994 (415)

KRB: gmg (6)

100-80532-314 SEARCHED ......INDEX.D ... SERIALIZED ...... FILED . 1001 (311

b3 b7D NY 100-84994

# 3/20/61

On Sunday, March 19, 1961, the Crown Heights Forum sponsored a talk by GUS HALL, leader of the CP, USA, at 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York. There was a \$.49 admission charge. 50 or 60 people were present. About 10 or 15 looked to be the age of college students.

HERB APPHEKER began the affair at about 8:10 p.m. He spoke a few minutes and introduced GUS HALL, the principal speaker.

HALL spoke mainly on the problems of the KENNEDY Administration. He began by telling of his need to get special permission from the Department of Justice to leave Manhattan and come to Brooklyn. HALL spoke about the current recession, the effects of automation, the United States foreign policy, and this country's atom policy. He thinks the atom bomb should be banned. He was critical of the policy of American firms who had oversess branches that manipulated their prices in different countries so as to obtain a maximum profit. HALL answered a number of questions from the floor; some were about the McCarran Act and the membership clause in the Smith Act. HALL also mentioned that he thought JIMMY HOFFA, the Teamsters leader, might not be as had as some people think, and that HOFFA has a chance of becoming a power for the side of good.

HALL was eptimistic about the future as far as the CP is concerned. He said the Party is getting stronger and is again getting out and doing things.

The meeting ended about 10:30 p.m.

			During	the	meetin	g, a j	petition	WES	circ	ilated
to	pan	the	atom	bomb	. One	of the	signer :	of	this	petition
			KR of							

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# 1emorandum

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532 )

DATE:

4/12/61

FROM :

SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY (#414)

SUBJECT:

HERBERT APTHEKER

SM-C

Identity of source

who has furnish<sup>b3</sup>

reliable info in past

(conceal).

Description of info

Informant reported on a

class at N.Y. School for

Marxist Studies on 3/27/61.

HERBERT APTHEKER was the

instructor.

Date received

4/4/61

Received by

SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY

(written)

Original location

A copy of informant's written report follows:

	БЗ <b>Э</b> б
1 - NY 100-134507 1 - NY 100-135473 1 - NY 100-134884	ኤ7C <b>Ъ</b> 7D
1 - NY 100-2005 9 1) - NY 100-80532 (415)	

EWB/jem

100-80532 -3148 ...... CILLU ......

NY 100-80532

3-28-61

The United States in World Affairs 3-27-61 8:30 to 10:15 pm Academy Hall 22 present

The following were present:
(1) HERBERT APTHEKER, teacher (2a) HARRY FRIES
(2) SUSAN BROWNMILLER (3) HENRY REINTIGER

(2) SUSAN BROWNMITTER (3) HENRY REININGER (4) CHARLES LNU,

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APTHEKER said this paragraph. The Middle East is rich in oil, the U.S. controls the oil. The Middle East (excluding Israel) is the poorest section in the world, disease is prevelant, the death rate is the highest in the world. Most Arabs live like Negro share croppers right after the the Civil War. The U.S. oil industry has greater assets than the next three industries combined. The oil industry enjoys a tremendous tax advantage with its  $17\frac{1}{2}\%$  depletion allowance. The international oil cartel led by Standard Oil of N.J. controls the price per barrel. The Middle East is in the next ralist camp. The Israelie invasion of Eygpt (in connection with France & England) was the most shameful event in the history of the Jews. Israel is like a U.S. colony. The Jews and Arabs hate each other.

4/12/61

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SAC, NY

SA KARL ROBERT BUCKSAM (41)

CRCIM MEIGHTS FORUM

Identity of source inso has furnished insufficient info to determine reliability (conscul)

Prescription of info Crown Heights Forwa, 3/19/61

Date received 3/2¥61

Received by SA KARL ROBERT EUCHIAN (oral)

Original location

Information received from informant, as see forth above, was distated by SA DUCHIAN to MARGARET N. LYONS on 3/21/61, cranscribed on 3/28/61, and authenticated by informant on 3/30/61.

A copy of informacts oral report follows:

1 - NY 100-24994 (GUS HALL) (415) 1/- NY 100-80532 (HEREEKT APTIEKER) (415) 1 - NY 100-137765 (CROWN ECICHES FORUM) (422)

100-5053: 3/49 APRI 2 1961 APRI 2 1961

KRB:rild (4)

# 3/21/61

On Sunday, March 19, 1961, the Crown Heights Forum sponsored a talk by GUS HALL, national leader of the CPUSA, at 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York.

The meeting began about 8:10 p.m. and about 55 or 60 people were present. About 15 of these people were about the age of college students. HERBERT AFTHEKER introduced GIS HALL.

GUS HALL talked about the Kennedy administration and was critical of the administration for not doing cnough. He talked about how automation has been causing a lot of our unemployment. He also talked about the need for banning the hydrogen bomb and commented on the possibility of a NATO nation being armed with the hydrogen bomb. HALL also answered a number of questions from the floor.

Literature was sold; the admission charge was \$.49.

The meeting ended about 10:30 pt.

#### NY-112

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

TÓ

: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532 ) DATE: 13 APR 1961

FROM

SA F.J. MC LAUGHLIN, Jr.

SUBJECT:

HERB APTHEKER

SM-C

NY 694-S\* advised on 2/27/61, that the National and New York State offices of the Communist Party; the Editorial and Office Staff of "The Worker," an East Coast weekly Communist newspaper, currently occupy the premises at 23 W. 26th St., NYC.

The above captioned subject was observed at 23 W. 26th St., as indicated below:

DATE	ENTERED	DEPARTED	OBSERVED BY SAS
3 /17 /61	X	X	WILLIAM J. BARRON F.J. MC LAUGHLIN, Jr.
/ /61			
/ /61			

/ /61

/61

A log covering the above surveillance is being maintained in NY file 100-4931-Sub O.

FJM: rmv ∧ & ✓ (1)

100-80532-3150 Searched....Indexed.... Serialized...Filed.... FBI - New York

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

TO

: SAC, NEW YORK (100-128814) DATE 4/19/61

b7D

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FROM

: SA ROBERT S. MUGAVIN

SUBJECT:

NY DISTRICT CP

ORGANIZATION

IS - C

who has furnished on 3/23/61, \_\_ reliable information in the past, furnished the following:

On 3/23/61, BETTY GANNETT and MILT ROSEN held a conversation in GANNETT's office at CP Headquarters, NYC.

ROSEN said on May Day they had an industrial meeting last night and he put it to the group to hold it on May 1, 1961, at Washington Square, or May 2, 1961, at Union Square. Most people were for Washington Square. They discussed having a meeting concerning May Day and tentatively settled on having a half hour session following the board meeting on March 23, 1961.

1 - NY (100-13483) 1 - NY (100-118174 1 - NY (100-144145) (1961 MAY DAY) (#41)
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1 - NY (100-15946)
1 - NY (100-139834) (NALC) (#41)
1 - NY (100-5106)
1 - NY (100-142782) (NY SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES) (#41)
1 - NY (100-80532) (HERR APTHEKER) (#415)
7 7700 2021
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(#42)
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1 - NY (100-60640)
1 - NY (100-128814)
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100-80 532-31

NY 100-128814

GANNETT related that she got home from Jamaica at 1:00 a.m. and had found JIM TORMEY with a hemorrage of the nose. She said that it was impossible for TORMEY to keep his schedule. TORMEY has a disease which saps energy. He could not do without his car. He takes a rest in houses where he goes.

ROSEN said the "guys" in the NALC had caucused and that they have an idea for a Party Club. ROSEN told them it was out as it would create unnecessary discussion. They think that the Party Clubs do not give proper time to the work. There are 8 or 9 in this caucus. ROSEN said they would just waste a lot of time and what they should do is formalize the caucus. They should define who should be the caucus, have it meet regularly, and have a secretary and chairman. That would give the caucus some substance. The club, however, would create a lot of discussion.

GANNETT mentioned that the next board meeting is April 13, 1961. There is also a tribute that evening of JESSICA SMITH, however, they cannot call the board meeting off as they have to have two meetings before the State Committee meeting. ROSEN asked what did CLARENCE HATHAWAY say. He suggested they meet at 6:30. GANNETT mentioned that on 3/26/61, she has a forum that CLARENCE HATHAWAY had accepted.

GANNETT said there was a crisis at the school, that the comrades resent HERB APTHEKER. SAM DLUGIN, GANNETT said, is resigning. GANNETT said she called a meeting for 3:00 that afternoon. She has to argue with SAM to remain. She stated that she was treated with contempt by APTHEKER. GANNETT also mentioned that they had gotten one of the 'guys' who works nights to agree to do some toaching during the day with the teenagers.

NV 100-128814 ROSEN said that he had to get squared away with the Social Workers Group. He said there are apparently two groups, one of which they do not know. GANNETT said they had called her and she had agreed to meet with them but they called it off because of an emergency in the union. ROSEN said they should make arrangements for their funds. These are turned into District 65, and also the registration. The group sends one or two people to Industrial Council meetings to get some Party thinking on questions. GANNETT said that she had not called back but would do so tomorrow night after her class. GANNETT mentioned that she had spent several hours on March and 22 pulling together a cultural club that is falling apart. ROSEN asked what about MIKE DAVIDOW. MILT said that MIKE could work with that group. GANNETT said she told CLARENCE to call . MIKE in and they will have a session with him. GANNETT observed the biggest problem was to find people to help them. that they cannot do the work alone. She said there are people they can get back. She said that she cannot start early in the day, and then not get to bed until one or two o'clock. They have to find people in industry who can cover clubs. She mentioned that GUS HALL had asked her about HAROLD COLLINS and when GUS found out HAROLD was a club organizer; he was furious. GUS - 3 -

NY 100-128814

asked if they had not worked out a policy; it was agreed HAROLD is not to work in the school. GANNETT said apparently the National Control Commission is going to start functioning. She did not know what would keppen to that club. ROSEN said it was an inconsequential club and they agreed to do away with it.

GANNETT said she had spoken to ARTHUR (ZIPSER?) about taking over cultural. ARTHUR does not want it; he wants to teach at the school. GANNETT observed ARTHUR is doing a good job on literature at the school.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-76)

April 12, 1961

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33745)

CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS IS - C (OO:MY)

On April 6, 1961, CO 5824-80, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to MA RICHARD V. HANSEN a two-page nimeographed item mailed from the National Office, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), and received April 6, 1961.

This item was photestated by the Chicago Office and the original returned to the source on April 7, 1961. One photestat has been made an exhibit by the Chicago Office and is located in Chicago file 100-33745-1440.

Two photostats of this item are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York.

This item bears the heading, "Note to Members of the Matienal Committee" and is shown as having been issued over the name of PHIL BART and reflects that the Resident Beard, CP, UEA, would send out memoranda based on reports to its meetings on various subjects and that set forth therein was one such memorandum dealing with "developments on the CHARGAR."

There then followed under the heading, "Seme Notes on Campus Developments in recent period" what appears to be

2-Bureau (Enc. 2)(Eh) 4-Hen Tork (Enc. 2)(EH)

(1-100-00832 (HEREET APTHEKER)

(1-100-56579 (1-100-80641

(CP, USA - Organization)

(1-100-80664 (CP, USA - Youth Matters)

3-Chicago (1-A)134-46)

(T-Y) 134-40)

RVE: MDW (8) Costic An Age

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CG 100-33745

a summary of a report presented by MERBERT APTHEMER and setting forth his observations in regard to current problems and opportunities with youth on the college campuses.

## Memorandum

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532 ) (415) DATE: 4/11/61

FAR

SAC, ALBANY (100-17449)

SUBJECT:

HERBERT APTHEKER IS-C: ISA-1950

OO: NEW YORK

Re New York airtel, 3/8/61.

The 3/10/61 issue of "The Colonial News," publication of Harpur College, Binghamton, New York, contained articles:

"Colonial News" reporters questioned APTHEKER, on the occasion of his 3/9/61 appearance at the Harpur College Theater and he explained that he joined the Communist Party in 1939, after having observed the noble things for which the Party was working. He noted that the Party believed in mass political activity, that the working class has a crucial role in the activities of America, and that political achievement requires mass activity and struggle. He stated that, as a National Committeeman, he knows of no movement to communize the college campuses of the United States through the guise of socialist youth activities and that the Party, he is sorry to say, is involved in no youth organizations on campuses.

An overflow crowd reportedly heard APTHEKER's address on "The Roots of Negro Oppression: A Marxian Analysis." He attacked the systematic subordination of the Negro people and explained that the Marxian interpretation is that Negro

cc: 2 New York (100-80532)(415)(RM)

1 - Albany (100-18239) (PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST GROUP

1 - Albany (100-17449)

REM:pab

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subordination lies in specific ruling class policy which sees the need for systematic oppression. There was some opposition on the part of local political leaders to APTHEKER's appearance on the campus but President GLENN G. BARTLE of the college stated that the college should provide opportunity for free exchange of ideas.

# UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-134920)

DATE: 4/5/61

FROM:

SA PATRICK J. STOKES

SUBJECT:

SCOPE IS-C

Identity of Source

who has furnished

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b7D

insufficient information to

determine reliability (conceal)

Description of Info

Attendance at SCOPE classes

on 3/17/61

Date Received

3/21/61

Received By

'SA PATRICK J. STOKES-

written

Original Location

A copy of informant's written report follows.

1-NY	100-140596		
l-NY	100-15458		
1-NY		(DIAN SUFFIN) (412)	
I-NY	100-136799		
<u>l-</u> NY	100-141170		
1-NY	100-80532	(HERBERT APTHEKER) (415)	
1-NY	101-559		
	100-20		
	100-9369		
	100-16785		
	100-54089		
1-NY	100-13483		
J-MA	100-134920	(414)	

PJS:ume (14)

Searched...Indexed...
Serialized...Filed...

APR 5 1961

--EBI-New York

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NY 100-134920

#### 19 Mar 1961

Report on SCOPE Classes of 17 Mar 1961

Classes were held on the 17th, 18th, and 19th floors of 853 Broadway between the hours of 7.00 PM and 10.30 PM. They were attended by at least 70 persons, other than instructors. All present were believed to be Caucausoid with the exception of one Negro.

Enrollment for BETTY GANNET's course, "Introduction to Marxism," is confirmed at 32, although all of these did not attend the second meeting held on 17 Mar. The number present at this meeting was 26. The nature of this group appears to be mixed, with political sentiments running from extreme left to left-center.

Enrollment in "Problems of National Minorities" has dropped to 4, and there is a possibility the course may be suspended for lack of enrollment. If the course continues, however, the following schedule is to be used:

10 Mar Introduction JONAH GLICK
17 Mar Problems of the Negro, pt. I JAMES JACKSON
24 Mar " , pt. II TED BASSET\_

Mr. JACKSON will not teach this lesson for he must attend the pro-LUMUMBA rally being held that evening at the Hotel Martinique (Empress Room), Broadway at 32 St. There is a very strong possibility, however, that the 4 four students in this class will also attend this rally, as a group.

31 Mar No classes 7 Apr 14 Apr Problems of the Jewish people, pt. I MORRIS SCHAPPES 21 Apr , pt. II 28 Apr Problems of the Spanish-speaking peoples, pt. I JESUS COLON 5 May Problems of the Spanish-speaking peoples, pt. II JESUS COLON 12 May Summary and Conclusion HERBERT APTHEKER

NY 100-134920

There is some question as to whether or not this class is to be given, as the schedule and bulletin of the SCOPE classes lists 5 May as the last day of classes for the Spring Term.

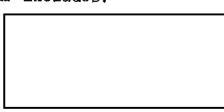
Mr. JACKSON, editor of The Worker, introduced the term "Communism," as such, for the first time at any of these meetings. After the meeting he passed out the following literature:

Some Aspects of the Negro Question in the United States, JAMES E. JACKSON (Communist Party, USA, New York, 1959) Reprinted from World Marxist Review, vd. 2, no. 7, July 1959.

The South's New Challenge, JAMES E. JACKSON (New Century Publishers, New York, 1957)

In addition to the classes there was a book table set up, at which both textbooks and propaganda were available. The subjects ranged from a declaration of the purposes and platform of the Communist Party, USA, to literature supporting the Cuban revolution, to basic texts in MARX, LENIN, and STALIN.

		Α	list	of	those	present	at	the	classes	of	10	Mar
and	17	Mar	inclu	des:	:	•						



\*seen on 10 Mar only

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#### OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-128822) (414)

DATE: 4/7/61

FROM:

SA ROBERT P. SMITH (422)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, NYD, EDUCATION

IS - C

Identity of Source

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Description of info

Crown Heights Forum, 3-19-61, 1110 Eastern Parkway. Brooklyn

Date Received

3/22/61

Original Located

A copy of informant's report follows:

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* "E			ISSUES) (414)
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NY 100-128822

March 20, 1961

On Sunday evening March 19, 1961, the monthly Crown Heights Forum was held at Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern Parkway, Bklyn, N.Y. Time: 8:00-10:00 P.M. Rm. 7. The speaker for the evening was GUS HALL, who discussed the KENNEDY Administration.

Mr. HALL stated that it was too early to form definite opinions of an administration until its term has expired, but so far the KENNEDY Administration has done well up-to-date, even though it has not taken definite steps on the major probems which are peace, disarmament, civil rights and unemployment.

In brief Mr. HALL stated the deciding factors in these issues will be for forces behind them. Mr. HALL further stated that since President KENNEDY was obviously seeking to run for a second term when he was elected, there is no dubt in his mind (Mr. HALL) that these problems will be dissolved.

There were about 60 or 65 people present including the following:

- 1. Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER & his wife FAY.
- 2. GUSSIE SPARER & her husband
- 3. ANN FRIEDLANDER
- 4. MOLLY ILSON
- 5. RUTH DANIELS 6. ERNA MC NEIL
- 7. CLARA LICHT
- 8. PEGGY GREENWOOD
- 9. PEARL WALLACH
- 10. ROSE HERMAN & her husband
- 11. LOUIS DINNERSTEIN
- 12. Miss NAOMI HINES

PEGGY GREENWOOD, white female, about 5'2", white hair, blue eyes, wears glasses, mid - 60's about 115-120'lbs.

NY 100-128822

HALL stated that the Supreme Court had not acted as yet regarding the CP U.S.A. but he was expecting a decision any Monday now in as much as decisions are made on Mondays.

HALL said that if the Supreme Court should rule against the CP U.S.A. it would mean that the CP U.S.A. would be required to turn in all their records. He said the CP U.S.A. would never turn in their records.

# Office Memorandum • United States Government

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SAC (100-43650)

DATE: 4/7/61

FROM:

SA FRANCIS J. GAFFREY

SUBJECT:

PHILADELPHIA SOCIAL SCIENCE FORUM COMMITTEE IS - C

On 3/21/61, who has furnish reliable information in the past, personally provided a who has furnished written statement to SA FRANCIS J. GAFFNEY. This statement is maintained in

"Adelphia Hotel 13 & Chestnut St. Fnila., Pa. March 17, 1961 Roof Garden Auspices of the Social Science Forum:

"The admission of charge as usually was one dollar (1.00) and collected by JEAN DE FRANTIS.

"The chairman for the evening was FRANCES GABON, who after a few opening announcements and reminding us all that there will be only one more forum in April. It will be H. APIHEKER who will speak on Socialism, proceeded to introduce the guest speaker for the

2 - NIII YORK (RM) 1 - 100-91308 (1 - 100-80532 (H. AFTHEKER) 15- PHIL DELFHIA (100-43650) (Plus 14 other Philadelphia files)

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FJG: jag (17)

#### PH 100-43650

"evening, Mr. PHILIP BONOSKY a editor of main stream, who announced that he would speak about the culture of the socialist countries. He also announced that until his first trip to Russia and Europe, that he had only been able to visit Pittsburg, New York, Washington.

"Mr. BONOSKY mentioned the writers congress, to which both he and his wife were invited to attend as honory guests. This congress was made up of writers from all over the world.

"Mr. BONOSKY went into great detail of the many incidents and association that he and his wife made with these various writers.

"He stated that he had asked one such writer why he didn't travel more especially in and around the United States. His answere was that the American people and the majority of other persons outside of the USSR, and especially friends of his, always first begin at their meeting by telling and talking money. They always complain to him of the high cost of living, especially the high rental systems of the capitalist countries. He said that money was certainly not the most important thing in the Soviet Union. He said he knew and other Russians knew that they couldn't afford to help build steel plants and Hydro Electric plants in other countries, but they did it willing. for they felt that the other backward countries needed it more than they did. He also mentioned that regardless of their occupation whether they are a waiter or writer, they, the Russian people, do not mind sacrifices if it means peace for the world and also that other people over the world benifit from their sacrifice. PHILIP BONOSKY said that the writers congress also has its own publishing company, which is of course available to its members.

"The speaker then went into a discussion of East and West Germany. The Russian zone we were told is not as modern nor is there as much money spent there. However,

PH 100-43650

"the German people are certainly overtaxed just to keep the other side as a bait for the other side. PHILIP BONOSKY said that there are a lot of people in both sides who have no desire for socialism, but PHILIP BONOSKY said if you are interested in great amounts of culture, then the Russian zone presents and has considerable more culture than the other. He also spoke of the delightful meeting that his wife and he had with NIKITA KRUSCHEV and his wife. Also MIKOYAN was a visitor during their stay. Mr. PHILIP BONOSKY spoke of Cuba's and FIDEL CASTRO great challenge, of the U.S. trying to help the enemies of Cuba revolt.

"The chairman for the evening FRANCES GABOW told everyone present that the forum was not making ends meet by the admission charge of one dollar, so she felt that they must now take up a collection for an additional sum. Each of us was ask to donate at least a dollar, which almost everyone did. I did not hear the amount that was collected. JIM DOLSON volunteered to take up the collection.

"The question and answere period was rather short, due to the fact that there were only 30-35 people present. The meeting was then over.

"Those seen in attendance, DALLAS WILLIAMS, SARA DENMAN, TOM NEBRIED, ARCHIE COLEMAN, JEAN DEFRANTIS, JIM DOLSON, FRANCES GABOW, SUE CARR, NOLA WHARTON."

 ${\it Iemorandum}$ 

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

DATE:

4/10/61

FROM :

SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY (#414)

SUBJECT:

HERBERT APTHEKER

SM-C

Identity of source

who has furnished reliable info in past(conceal).

Description of info

Informant reported on a class at the NY School for Marxist

Studies, instructor was

HERBERT APTHEKER, 3/20/61.

Date received

3/27/61

Received by

SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY (written)

Original location

A copy of informant's written report follows:

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1 - NY 100-135473 1 - NY 100-134507 1 - NY 100-134884 1 - NY 100-//9639	ь71
1 - NY 100-/7/639 1 - NY 100-/24450	
1- NY 100-80532 (515)	

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3-21-61

The United States in World Affairs 3-20-61 8:30 to 10:15 pm Academy Hall 26 present

#### The following were present:

(1) (2) (3)	SUSAN BROWNMILLER HENRY REININGER	teache	er	
(4) (5) (6)	HARRY FRIES JANE LNU, MARTY LNU			ь6 ,b70

APTHEKER said this paragraph. There are at least 200 million in Africa. During the capture and transportation of slaves into America about 80 million were killed. The slaves that were taken out of Africa were the youngest and strongest of the race; it is a miracle that the African nations were able to survive with a constant drain on their manpower over a period of 400 years. The slave trade that existed was the most barbaric in the history of man. than one percent of the Africans can read or write. has a population of about 12 million of which about one million are Europeans. Of these less than half are Frenchmen yet the French wish to continue to control Algeria; there is no doubt that hundreds of thousands of Algerians have been murdered and placed in concentration camps similar to those used by the Nazi's. In the Union of South Africa the British are still in control economically however Wall Street capital has the biggest investment in Africa at the present time. The Africans are now in a life and death struggle for liberation and will stop at nothing. The French are after the natural resources of the Sahara.

### CONFIDENTIAL



### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. Bu 100-3-76 New York, New York April 10, 1961

Re: Communist Party,

United States of America-

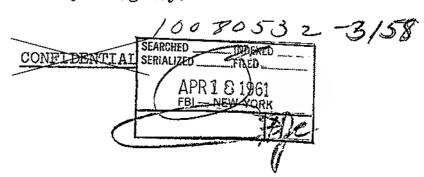
Youth Matters

On April 7, 1961, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a copy of a memorandum of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) sent to members of its National Committee, setting out a version of a report by Herbert Aptheker, a member of that committee, entitled, "Some Notes on Campus Developments in Recent Period."

Aptheker asserts that receptions now for Communist speakers are cordial, interested and well attended, and he cites visits to 17 different universities, from City College in New York, to Iowa State University. However, he notes he has not been invited to a Negro college for about three years.

He says the basic approach to college students and faculty has to be in terms of ideas and arguments concerning the intellectual problems they face. College youth are not committed, and not especially interested in doctrinal controversies. Many youth are surprised at how rational the Communist Party program and Marxist view sound, and at how close to things they want or can understand. There must be no idea conveyed that the Communist Party has all the answers, brains or virtue.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; It and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.





Re:

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de). .

Communist Party, United States of America-

Youth Matters

Aptheker sees enormous opportunities in this area and claims the Communist Party is not doing a hundredth of what can be done. There should be systematic attention given in the way of existing and new literature, and speakers.

The CPUSA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The Resident Board will send out memos based on reports to its meetings on various subjects to acquint you with the main content of these reports.

Below is one dealing with developments on the campus.

Comradely yours,

Phil Bart

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Some Notes on Campus Developments in recent period

#### H. Aptheker

Observations based on practice of repeated visits to campuses throughout the nation for many years; especially marked in the past decade. During last 6 months visits to 17 different universities -- some more than once -- from City College in NY to Iowa State University.

1950-55 a pall of apathy on the campuses. Change begins to appear about 1956; has become especially marked in past 12 or 15 months. Negro movement; student movements abroad; Cuban Revolution; question of war or peace; recession; rebellion against cultural rot and ethical decay; developments in socialist lands—and intercultural exchanges—these are among the major stimuli of the change. With the change and the appearance of many Left groupings and societies, the Right has become more vociferous and more organized, too.

The change on compus part of larger change ideologically—thus, six or seven years ago, the dominant view in US was that the debate about Socialism or Marxism was finished. There was nothing to debate about any longer—Marxism had discredited itself completely. This view is gone and the debate has begun again, in full force.

Receptions now for Communist speakers are cordial, sincerely interested, and very well attended. Present reporter in recent visit to Swarthmore spoke to 250 people; at City College in NY to 300 people; at Harpur College in Binghamton, N.Y. to 700 people. Literature is quickly sold; there is a great desire to know about Marxism and a real desire to learn what the Communists believe and want and propose. Also new is the response obtained from faculty—who always follow students. Faculty members now attend lectures by Communists in considerable numbers, generally participate in the question period, and several among them do not hesitate to show themselves as interested in Marxism and Communist views.

The one notable fall-off that this Reporter has observed is the fact that while some years ago he was regularly invited to Negro colleges, this has not happened now for about 3 years.

With college students and faculty we are dealing with people whose work is ideological; hence, the basic approach to them has to be in terms of ideas, theories, arguments concerning the intellectual problems they are facing. A speaker should be thoroughly familiar with contemporary historical and philosophical approaches in the American academic community; immersed in this as much as possible so that frame of reference will be clear and meaningful and helpful. The youth want to see someone who BELIEVES in something and is willing to fight for it against odds, etc. Arrogance is sensed at once; so is deceptiveness of any kind. Frankness is a prime virtue in these appearances; and a sense of dedication to truth as one understands it. If one does not know or is not sure he must say so.

· \*\*

But nothing wishy-washy, either. Definite, clear, sincere, but not "know-it-all" and not an attitude reflecting upon the integrity of anybody else. Substantive differences; no questioning of motivation. Our greatest barrier-especially in our published material—is our LANGUAGE; it still seems foreign or outrageous to most American youth. Here it is not only a matter of words, but also references. These should be basically American; and steeped in American experience and heritage—the language will follow. The present college youth are not committed; not especially interested in inner problems and doctrinal controversies. They want sense and meaning and devotion to principle. They don't want hogwash and generalities and arbitrary assertions.

Many youth are sold on idea of Communists as foreign agents or Party as a foreign instrumentality. Sometimes they will be embarrassed to ask about this, but most -unless well-developed -- will wonder. This should be faced and replied to explicitly and clearly. Many youth also are sold on idea of Marxism as conspiratorial, as eliteist, as committed to violence, etc -- all the Smith Act and McCarran Act slanders and stereotypes. This must be clearly faced and not only denied but persuasively refuted in terms of the realities of Marxism. There is a great interest in legal status of Party; here a great field is open for information and for sympathetic action. Many youth are surprised, when the Party program is stated and the Marxist view set forth how rational it all sounds, and how close it often is to things they want or can understand. Sometimes there will be a feeling that these explanations are only "special pleadings" attuned to the times. or bait for dupes; all this should be borne in mind and the reality not only brought home but brought home convincingly, sincerely, openly. There must be no sense conveyed that we have a monopoly on all the answers or all the brains or all the virtue. In this connection, the stress on need for unity and on the wide and vital areas of agreement that exist can be brought forward. Difficult questions must be faced -- as nature of and practice of democracy; freedom; who guards the guardians; how is this to be done; why the aberrations summed up in "cult of personality"; realities of Hungary, etc. And many other difficult questions, or questions where all the answers are not in or are being forged in experience -- here arbitrariness is to be avoided like the plague. Any sense of sectarianism here is murder -- it would be better the speaker not show up.

The opportunities in this area and among students and faculty are enormous. We are not doing a hundredth of what now can be done and is crying out to be done. There should be systematic attention to this, in terms of existing literature, new literature, speakers, etc.

###

No. 1, April 4, 1961

#### PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-76)

PROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80644)

SUBJECT: CPUSA

YOUTH MATTERS

IS-C (00: NY)

Enclosed are 8 copies of a letterhead memo concerning a report made by HERBERT APTHEKER to "the Resident Board" of the CPUSA, and forwarded by memorandum by PHIL BART to members of the Party's National Committee. The memorandum is dated 4/1/61. APTHEKER's report is entitled, "Some Notes on Campus Developments in Recent Period."

The confidential source utilized is NY 694-8\*, who furnished copies of the memorandum of the CPUSA to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON on 4/7/61. One copy of this item is furnished the Bureau for information.

This letterhead memorandum has been classified <u>confidential</u> because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the CPUSA and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

3-Bureau (100-3-76) (Encl. 9) (RM)
New York (100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (415)
1-New York (100-56579)
1-New York (100-80641) (CPUSA - CRGANIZATION) (415)
1-New York (134-91) (Inv.) (41)
1-New York (100-80644)
JVW:rmv
(9)

1-Supervisor #415

| 00-80532-3159 | SERIAL | 100 VORK | 15 - 170 VORK | 
b6 b7с

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

то

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

DATE:

4/10/61

FROM:

SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY (#414)

SUBJECT:

HERBERT APTHEKER

SM-C

Identity of source

who has furnished b3 reliable info in past(concealb7D

Description of info

Informant reported on a class at the N.Y. School For Marxist

Studies, HERBERT APTHEKER,

Instructor, 3/13/61.

Date received

3/27/61

Received by

SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY (written)

Original location

A copy of informant's written report follows:

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1 - NY 100-135473 1 - NY 100-134507 1 - NY 100-134884 1 - NY 100-20059	ъ70
1 NY 100-80532 (415)	
EWB/jem (6)	SERICHED

NY 100-80532

March 15, 1961

b6 b7С

The United States in World Affairs March 13, 1961 8:30 to 10:15 pm Academy Hall 20 present

The following were present:

(1)	HERBERT APTHEKER,	teacher
$\binom{1}{2}$	SUSAN BROWNMILLER	
(3)	HARRY FRIES	
(3) (4) (5)	HENRY REININGER	
(5)	CHARLES LNU,	

APTHEKER said this paragraph. Havana turned itself over to CASTRO when he arrived. CASTRO was defeated in the 1953 uprising and the C.P. of Cuba did not think much of the CASTRO movement. However the C.P. played a tremendous role in the success of the 1959 revolution. The Soviet Union has agreed to lend Cuba money on  $2\frac{1}{2}$ % interest and has agreed to buy 1 million tons of sugar. The CASTRO revolution was not a Socialist revolution but is turning toward Socialism. There is no real evidence of a anti-CASTRO movement, it is American propaganda. The Communists in the CASTRO government are very instrumental in shaping the economic policies of the government.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C1957) (472)

SA REMNARD T. MC CAME (42)

CROWN MEIGHTS FORM
IS-C

Identity of Source Panel Source b3
b7D

Description of info Meeting of Crown Heights, Forum 3/19/61

Date Received 3/23/61

Owiginal located

A copy of informant's report follows:

(8)

D = 100-80532 (HERB AFFMENER) (422)

1 = 100-84994 (298 HALL) (415)

1 = 100-26603-C43 (CP. WY District. Kings County CP) (422)

1 = 100-99874

1 = 100-62509

1 = 100-86603-C1957 (422)

PON: MAKE

(8)

SER, ALIZED FILED APRIL TO SER, NEW YORK

March 19, 1961

The Crown Heights Forum held a meeting Sunday March 19, 1961 6 8 PM, 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. It was attended by 50-60 people.

Dr. HERB APTHEKER was chairman. He opened the meeting by briefly welcoming GUS HALL to Brooklyn.

The topic of HALL's speech was "The anyalsis and a judgement of the KENNEDY Administration"

GUS HALL opened his speech by thanking the C.H.F. for inviting him to Brooklyn. Then he thanked the FBI for allowing him to leave his exile on Manhattan island. for his first trip to Brooklyn.

HALL placed himself in the position to judge the KENNEDY Administration. This was not done to compare it with others but how this administration will be affected by the issues that present itself today.

The previous administrations here compared to their reaction on issues in general to Moscow.

- a) HOOVER followed a Hard line
- b) FDR Hard then both hard and soft. This was altered because of fascism and W.W II
- c) EISEMFOWER hard and sometimes soft but mostly hard.
- e) KENNEDY

HALL could not determine at present what direction it will take because of its indecision. However the line it adopts could be affected by the American people.

The forces that will be used by the people to determine the type or line of the KKNNKUY administration are:

1. The Negro issue - eg segregation

2. Callege Students - their moments have been very satisfactory throughout the country, eg civil liberties.

3. Trade Unions. Labor movements throughout the U.S.

4. Peace Movements - disarmaments, stop nuclear testing

HALL then explained four significant things that will affect the KENGEDY administration foreign & domestic.

1. The New Epoch

2. The Economy of the U.S.

3. Problems of the Megro
Indeciveness of President KKNNKDY

4. United Nation's and the Administration

The New Rooch or the Balance of World Forces

The New Epoch is the transition from capitalism to Socialism. This will be a complete reversal from capitalism which was desinant when imperialism ruled. The opponents to capitalism were grushed.

The system of Socialism and the Communist state will replace imperialism and capitalism.

Parrelled forces have come together in the Mational Liberation Movements. With the help of the Communist the balance of forces have become a dominant shift.

eg - 1. The Cuban revolution

2. The once large monoply American Sugar company is now a minority

### The U.S. Lognomy

The direction of history cannot be stopped therefore the decline in the U.S. economy has been steady. Regardless of who was elected as President no one could alter this direction.

Since the 1950's with each recession there is a rise in unsuployment. This rise have been increasing to a new high. It does not decline but has taken a steady upward path. The cause for this is automation eg steel, office work.

NY 100-26603-C1957 Problems of Discrimination and Segregation These problems are unavoidable because of state laws. The Supreme Court decisions are not sufficient because they can be reversed. However the court have been friendly to the Communist Party by its 54 decisions. An executive order is needed immediately to end discrimination. What has the administration done for the Negro other than meeches, proclamations. There have been no decia decisions, The indecisiveness of KENNEDY Administration Ignoring of the 30 hr. week, the high cost of trans-portation and the high cost of rents. The wages in New York City is the 20th of major cities. The president has been postponing decisions till next Spring no next Fall. The New Epic cannot wait because life is moving fast America is making weapons or booming business However disarmaments and abolishment of nuclear testing are being pushed aside till fall. The U.S. considered giving the weapons to the NATO nations at one time however whole countries could be wiped out at a push of a button, eg Italy, Germany or Holland if Moscow is attacked. The United Nations and the KENNEDY Administration The two major problems are colonialism and disarmament. Watch the reactionary elements in the Belgium Congo. ADALI STEVENSON and ELEANOR ROOSEVELT are liberals and he feels warmly towards them. However they have nothing new to offer in the U.N. because they are rehashing old ideas. The South American proposal of his KENNEDY did not measure up to his speech. 1. The bank owns money, owned by bankers 2. The money competes with private enterprise. -4-

3. The countries cannot use the bank because loans cannot be issued in amounts needed for them to balance their economy.

Closing remarks

The KENNEDY administration was seeking re-election to a second term since election day. However he must show definite decu on policy questions. There must be some concessions and following of a soft line. The people will determine the line of the administration. They can place pressure on the president to force him into the right direction. This can be done by

People movements

b) Unity - unite ranks of the people progressive forces c) Resist monopoly by using the sogan Capitalist No

Socialist Yes.

The chairman HERB AIKEN closed the meeting by praising the Crown Heights Forum for being the first group in Brooklyn to have GUS HALL as a guest speaker. He scoulder the government for the six years imprisonment of GUS. This he said was a criminal act because GUS was only a leader in the Communist Party.

HENRY WINSTON is also confined in prison even though he is now sick, blind and cripple.

HY LUMAR was falsely accused of trying to infiltrate labor unions with Communism. He now faces an eighteen month prison term.

The above cases were the result of the government interferring with the civil liberties of these individuals.

The chairman urged the members of the C.H.F. or any friends present to sign the petition by Prof. PAULDING

Questions from the Floor directed to GUS HALL

1. What is the future of the Communist Party in America?

He felt very optimistic of the party's growth now. During the 1950's the party was persecuted, members lost their jobs and were imprisoned. He conceeded that there were fighting within the party. However this has been overcome. The party especially in Brooklyn has been moving up.

At this point his voice trailed off and there was no elaboration.

2. What is the KENNEDY Administration stand on Armaments?

Realities are understood only by a few intellectuals. Since they realize that whole countries can be obliterated in a second they are urging peaceful co-exhistance in the entire world.

How do you feel about the peace movements.

"DYRUM EATON is doing an excellent job."

"Prof PAULDING is circulating a petition. He is the biggest spokesman for peace on a large scale."

Will nuuclear testing end under the KENNEDY administration?

He felt that testing will eventually end maybe this summer.

How do you feel about Pres KENNEDY's Peace Corp

Imperialist will use it to help influence the people of the various countries with their ideas. However the U.S. will have to withdraw it because of the adverse effect it will have on the Youth.

eg. WILKINSON took a trip to Liberia. He lived with the people and found his ideas had changed completely by what he had observed.

Therefore U.S. will not push the Peace Corp if it leaves the same impression.

Could the Mc Carran Act outlaw the Communist Party?

Yes

Civil Liberties and the fights of every American is interferred with. The Supreme Court could outlaw the Party any day. He said that each Monday he awaits this decision

What Moves people to make a change.

The need for leadership and strength. Each new group with independent ideas are always branded Communistic.

However there are steps that cannot be skipped in the U.S.

- 1. The Capitalistic class is on the decline. The new class of Socialism and Communism will replace it.
  - 2. Could Labor Party become dominant in U.S.

Yes. The labor party could rise from segments of the Democratic and Republican party merging and becoming a dominant party.

What effect will JAMES HOFFA have on the Labor field.

JAMES HOFFA even though he has his shortcoming will be useful in the field of labor. Watch him in the Labor Movement in the U.S.

What is the position of Supreme Court Justice BLACK.

He is now looked on as a progressive because of his decending opinions.

Books and Magazines and newspapers were sold in the back of the meeting room.

1. New Horizons for Youth 799 Broadway, NY 3, NY 10¢ Newspaper

- 2. F. CASTRO Fight for Freedom
- 3. Uprising in the South B. DAVIS

"Historical Advances of acrid Socialism" WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

"Decisions in Africa"

"81 Communist Leaders"

The civil and unusual punishment of "HENRY WINSTON" MIKE NEWBERRY

The Worker

Newspaper

Appeal for action - write to Mr. CYRIL PHLLIP - chairman
Harlem Committee to Free HENRY WINSTON
2349 8th AvenueN.Y. 27, N.Y.

Petition to end Neuclear testing originated by Prof PAULDING

4/12/61

SAC, CLEVELAND

SAC, NEW YORK (100-9/10%)

POLITICAL AFFAIRS IS-C (00: New York)

ReBulet 12/12/56, advised that a review of each issue of "Folitical Affairs" should be made with a view of effecting probable identification of authors. In the event a probable identification is not made, it will be necessary for each office to open a case and conduct investigation to attempt to effect the identification and further to cause to be conducted such investigation as is necessary to determine if the individual should be included in the SI.

Copies of this letter are being designated for the NY files of the probable authors, who have written articles, letters and/or book reviews appearing in the April, 1961 issue of "Political Affairs." In the event the probable author or authors is determined to be residing in other than the NYC area, the office covering such residence is to be notified and a case file opened to determine if the probable author is to be included in the SI.

Listed below are the titles of articles, the pages of the articles and the names of the authors appearing in the April, 1961 issue of Political Affairs."

Title of Article	Pages	Authors
Lessons of the Steel Rank and File Movement	11-20	A. KRCHMAREK
The Question of an Anti-Monopoly Coalition	21-33	WILLIAN WEINSTONE
The Cuban Revolution: Part II	34-45	HERBERT APTHEKER
The General Crisis of Capitalism Deepens	4 > <b>-</b> 59	JAKES E. JACKSON 80532 -3/62
1-New York (100-80532) /H 1-New York (100-16785) 1-New York (100-94653) (V	LLIAM WEIN: ERBERT APT ICTOR PERIA	F cort

NY 100-97167

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Title Pages Authors

Inside the Soviet Economy 00-04 VICTOR PERLO

For the information of the Cleveland Office, the article by A. KRCHMAREK reviewed the efforts of the rank and file steel workers to obtain a greater voice in the steel unions.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

то

SAC. NEW YORK (100-80532)

DATE: 1

4/10/61

FROM :

SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY (#414)

SUBJECT:

HERBERT APTHEKER

SM-C

Identity of source

who has furnished

reliable info in past

(conceal).

b7D

Description of info

Informant reported on a

class conducted by HERBERT APTHEKER at the NY School

For Marxist Studies, 3/6/61.

Date received

3/15/61

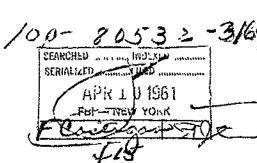
Received by

SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY (written)

Original location

A copy of informant's written report follows:

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1 - NY 100-135473	b7c
1 - NY 100-134507	b7D
1 - NY 100-134884 1 - NY 100-,20059	
1 - NY 100-80532 (415) JTQ/jem (6)	—— <del>(4</del> 12)



3-8-61

The United States in World Affairs 3-6-61 8:45 to 10:15 pm Academy Hall 20 present

The following were present:

) HERBERT APTHEKER, teacher

(2) SUSAN BROWNMILLER

3) HARRY FRIES

4) HENRY REININGER

(5) CHARLES LNU,

b6 b7C

APTHEKER said this paragraph. Though the U.S. has been the No. 1 country for years, it is now losing its position. China and India with its one billion people must be reckoned with. APTHEKER said he knew about the U-2 flights before the Russians shot down the plane. The American people were not particularly disturbed about finding out about the U-2 flights, they thought however that that flight was poorly timed. We cannot forget that there are two Germany's, the American do not like the Germans. The city of Warsah was rebuilt exactly like it was before the war, the Polish people are proud of their city. 10 million Russian's were killed during the war. The millions of people in Africa (mostly black) must go into one of the two camps. The "free World" and the "Communist World" are not drifting doser and closer but are drifting further apart.



SAC, NEW YORK (100-129556) (422)

4/11/61

SA ROBERT P. SMITH (422)

SA - C
On 4/5/61, (Reliable) telephonically advised
TP. SMITH that recently one visited with
and during a convergation with the informant, advised
working with
she is also involved in work.   mentioned also
Idious HERRERT APTHEKER.
According to told nim that she is a
who has been in the U.S. for over years;
had been in and resides at
Informant described her as

	b3
1 - New York (100-26503-053) (#00017800)	<b>b</b> 6
1 - New York (100-26603-C43) (KCCP) (422)	ъ7с
1 -New York (100-90851) (HORTRESE SIE BEVERINGE) (422) 1 - New York (100-111609) 1 - New York (100-131529)	b7□
1) - New York (100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEMER) (415)/0 0 - 9053	2-3165
RPS (m)	

8PS:=1 (7) F. County

SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782) (41)

4/12/61

SA SEBASTIAN S. MIGNOSA (424)

NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES IS - C

Identity of Source

ь3 ь7D

Description of info

Dr. APTHEKER's class at the N.Y. School for Marxist

Studies

Date Received

3/28/61

Original Located

A copy of informant's report follows:

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_ '	I	$\overline{\mathcal{F}}$	New	YOPK	(100-80532) (A. APTREERR) (415)
_	1	-	New	York	(100-142344)
	1	-	Yes	York	(100- )
	1	-	New	York	(100-143645)
	1	-	New	York	(100-138906)
	1	_	New	York	(100-142782)(41)
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SSM:ml (7)

101-80532-3166

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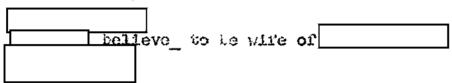
3/23/51 New York, N.Y.

b7D

b7D

course, Dr. HERBER? APTHEKER again tought his at the New York School for Marxist Studies, 853 Broadway, N.Y.C.

Among those present were:



Dr. APTHEKER said the freedom of and in capitalism is the existance of inequality. He said freedom is a concept of historical process. It is human relationship.

Dr. APTHEKER said MILTON" was a great figure who publicipated in the historical revolutionary movement.

Dr. APTHEKER said ATLYON had said that all men are created equal\_

Dr. APTHEKER said that JOHN STUART MILLS, another great figure in the 19th century England had said that the poor were that way because they were bad and the rich were rich because they were good.

Dr. APTHEKER also said that "BYRAHT' cojected to "DARHIN's" theory of evolution and had said that aristocrats did not descend from apes; only the lower class did.

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO:

DIRECTOR, \$\forall \text{100-427536}\)

DATE: 4/14/61

FROM:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-133884)

SUBJECT:

COMMUNICATE PARTY, USA INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

IS - C

ReBulets, 2/6/59, 7/2/59, and 12/30/59.

Set forth is a composite intelligence summary concerning members of the National Committee (NC), CP, USA, prepared in accordance with instructions contained in relets.

Part I contains a listing of NC members in alphabetical order together with information as to (1) factional adherence, (2) district or section which the member represents, (3) ideological and/or organization interests and (4) special interest in any phase of Party work.

2 - Bureau (100-427536)(RM)

1 - Cleveland (100-23485)(RM)

1 - Chicago (100-34488)(RM) 1 - Detroit (100-26543)(RM)

1 - Indianapolis (100-11754)(RM) 1 - Los Angeles (100-55880)(RM)

1 - Minneapolis (100-11490)(RM)

1 - Milwaukee (100-13213)(RM)

1 - Newark (100-43383)(RM)

1 - Philadelphia (100-43429)(RM)

1 - Portland (100-3952 Sub 25)(RM)

1 - San Antonio (100-9444)(RM)

1 - San Francisco (100-43478)(RM)

(COPIES CONTINUED - Next Page)

RGS:bca .. . \* ~(44)

1 - New York (100-133884)(415)

00-80532-3167

#### COPIES CONTINUED

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1 - Seattle (100-127)(RM
1 - New York
              (100-129629)
 🔑 New York
               100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER)
l - New York
               100-32826)
 - New York
               100~56579
l - New York
               100-25623
               101-559)
 - New York
 - New York
               100-106126
              100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS) (415)
 - New York
              (100-1696)(<u>ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(4</u>15)
 - New York
 - New York
              100-93565
100-13473
 - New York
              100-84994 YGUS HALLI (415
 - New York
 - New York
              100-5106)
1
 - New York
              100-16785
 - New York
               100-16021 (ARNULD JCHNSON) (415
 - New York
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              100-79025
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               100-13483
1 - New York
              (100-15946
1 - New York
              (109-26018)(LOUIS WEINSTOCK)(415)
1 - New York
             (100-9595)(WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
1 - New York (100-128255)
```

b6

b7C

- la -

NY 100-133884 Part II briefly outlines factional struggles and/or indications of factionalism in the various CP Districts which either directly or indirectly involve the NC member(s) in the district. Part III is a miscellaneous listing of certain background habits, health and personal factors which might possibly be considered in counter-intelligence matters. It should be noted that portions of information set forth below have been furnished by highly placed informants, and caution should be exercised in the dissemination of any of this material, in order to insure the protection of these sources. Information set forth concerning the identities of the persons on the CP National Board, is the most definite information received to date relative to the identities of persons associated with that body. 2

#### PART I

### ALBERTSON, WILLIAM

ALBERTSON is a member of the NC, representing the NY District. At a meeting of the NY District CP Board, 2/2/61, ALBERTSON was elected Chairman of the CP Youth Commission. In addition, ALBERTSON holds the position of Chairman of the Food Club of the Industrial Division of the NY State CP. ALBERTSON has, for the past several weeks been employed by International Publishers, Incorporated, NYC.

### APTHEKER, HERBERT

APTHEKER is an at large member of the NC. In addition, he serves as Director of the NY School for Marxist Studies, 853 Broadway, NYC. He also continues to function as Editor of the publication, "Political Affairs". GUS HALL has recently stated that it appears that APTHEKER is using his position on "Political Affairs", for his own advancement, and that the material of others that he was putting in the publication was very sloppy. HALL also placed the responsibility for the delayed publication of "Political Affairs" on APTHEKER.

At the February meeting of the NY District CP Board, APTHEKER was elected a member of the Youth Commission of the NY CP District, and named to the Special Organizational Commission of the District.

NY 100-133884 APTHEKER, in addition to his other CP duties, also serves as a member of the Board of Editors: of "Mainstream". AUERBACH, SOLOMAN AUERBACH is an at large member of the NC, who is commonly known as JAMES ALLEN. ALLEN, on 3/10/61, returned to the United States from an extended trip abroad. During this trip, ALTEN visited Russia. On 3/23/61, at a meeting of CP functionaries, held at CP headquarters, NYC, HYMAN LUMER, CP, USA Educational Director, requested that he be given a six months leave of absence from his duties; in order to arrange his personal affairs, in the event that he has to go to prison as a result of the Supreme Court ruling in the Labor - Management Relations Act case against him. A motion was made by GUS HALL during the course of this meeting to replace LUMER with JIM ALLEN. ALLEN, however, has not assumed LUMER's duties to date, and it appears that LUMER will not take a leave of absence. ALLEN, since his return from Europe, has also been made head of the Latin American Commission of the CP, USA.

NY 100-133884 BART; PHILIP BART is an at large member of the NC and continues to hold the title of National Organization Secretary. is reportedly a member of the Latin-American Commission and Special Organizational Commission of the NY CP District. In addition, he has been assigned, together with JACK STACHEL and BETTY GANNETT to the task of arranging for a skeleton underground operation for the CP. He continues to be most active in the day to day operation of the CP, USA National Office. As a result of a decision made at the CP, USA National Executive Committee meeting held on 3/9 and 10/61, at CP headquarters, NYC, a CP National Board was formed to replace the CP, USA Secretariat. Information received indicates that PHILIP BART is apparently a member of this National Board. BERT, ERIK BERT is an at large member of the NC, and continues to function as Managing Editor of "The Worker". BERT departed from the United States on 3/23/61, to attend an Economic Conference to be held by the "World Marxist Review" in Prague, Czechoslovakia. This conference is to continue for ten days after which time BERT is scheduled to travel to Leipzig, German People's Republic, where during the period 4/5 - 11/61, he will attend a conference on "New Imperialism". After this conference is terminated, BERT is scheduled to travel to Moscow, USSR. 5 -

NY 100-133884 BERT received permission from GUS HALL to make this trip. BLAIR, FRED BLAIR represents the Wisconsin District on the NC and continues to hold the position of Chairman of the CP of Wisconsin. On 2/23/61, GUS HALL met with BLAIR in Milwaukee, Wisconsin at which time HALL discussed with BLAIR the possibility of closing Mary's Book Store, which BLAIR operates at 530 West State Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. HALL suggested that BLAIR, with the help of a subsidy from the National Office, CP, USA, in the amount of \$1,000.00, consider assuming the responsibility of being full-time OP Organizer. By this method, it was felt that BLAIR would be able to carry cut activities which would be beneficial to the CP of Wisconsin. HALL stated that he planned to return to the Midwest and would further discuss this plan with BLAIR. BLUM, EMANUEL BLUM represents the Indiana District on the NC and is Chairman of the Indiana Party. It has been reported that certain members of the CP of Indiana are disgusted with HWWFs role in the National Steel Commission CP, USA. One CP member stated that BLUM should be replaced by someone, who knows something about the steel mills. It was further stated that BLUM is completely uninformed in this area.

NY 100-133884 CHAKA, EDWARD CHAKA represents the Ohio District on the NC and is a member of the State Board of the Ohio CP. CHAKA continues to be one of the top CP leaders in Ohio, and is a member of the Ohio State CP Committee and CP State Board. CHILDS, MORRIS CHILDS represents the Missouri - Kansas District on the NC. He was elected to the NC at the 17th National Convention, CP, USA, under the name C. MARTIN. According to information received, CHILDS is an "ex-officio" member of the newly created National Board. CHILDS was recently approached by JAMES WEST, Executive Secretary, CP of Illinois, on the question of CHILDS! devoting more time in the future to the Illinois District. CHILDS was apparently not too interested in entering the local CP picture, and indicated dissatisfaction with the present leadership of the CP in Illinois. COLON, JESUS COLON is an at large member of the NC and continues to write a weakly column for "The Worker". COLON recently gave a series of lectures on the Cuban Revolution at the NY School for Marxist Studies. He continues to exhibit strong interest in the Cuban situation and the work of the CP among the Puerto Ricans.

NY 100-133884 CRENOVICH, MICHAEL AARON CRENOVICH is a member of the NC representing the NY District. He is reportedly a member of the Latin-American Commission of the NY CP District. CRENOVICH attends meetings of the NY District CP Board and is active in the Industrial Division of the CP. At a meeting of the CP functionaries held in March, 1961, it was suggested that a committee be formed for the purpose of studying and amending the CP, USA constitution. CRENOVICH was recommended by one of the persons in attendance for membership on this committee but GUS HALL set aside this recommendation by stating that CRENOVICH has not displayed a responsible attitude. DAVIS, BENJAMIN J., JR. DAVIS is an at large member of the NC and holds the position of CP, USA National Secretary. DAVIS was recently selected as a member of the National Board, CP, USA. During the afternoon, on 2/15/61, DAVIS appeared in a picket line demonstration outside the UN protesting the death of Congolese leader PATRICE LUMUMBA. DAVIS was interviewed by the press, and was lead from the demonstration by the police. In discussing this incident, DAVIS admitted that he had appeared in the picket line, which line he mistakingly believed to be of some "progressive force", but in reality was composed of Negro nationalists from Harlem. DAVIS received considerable notomety as a result of this incident and in some CP quarters was criticized for his participation with these Negro nationalists.

NY 100-133884 DAVIS, SAMUEL KRASS DAVIS represents the Minnesota - Dakota District of the NC, and is Secretary of that District. DAVIS is the only paid functionary of the CP District, and is in complete control of the Party machinery in this District. DAVIS continued to closely follow the CP line set forth by GUS HALL. DAVIS has shown interest in the past in organizing a CP youth group in Minneapolis and the first meeting of a series of Marxist classes for young people was scheduled The meeting attracted nine persons, but no subsequent classes or meetings have been held, and DAVIS has tended to let slide all real effort to organize a CP youth group since that time. It also appears that DAVIS and his wife may be comtemplating travel to Finland and Russia, possibly in connection with a tour to be sponsored or organized by the newspaper, "Tyomies". DAVIS has thus far been secretive about taking this trip, and is now attempting to secure a passport. DAVIS continues to spend two or three afternoons a week in "The Worker" Office in downtown Minneapolis and is more frequently at his home during the day. He also make periodic trips to Duluth, the Iron Range, and other parts of Northern Minnesota on CP business. DENNIS, THOMAS DE WITT, JR. DENNIS is a member of the NC representing the Michigan District and also holds the positions of Executive Secretary and Organizational Secretary of the Michigan District.

DENNIS although actively participating in national and local CP activities, reportedly has refused to work full -time for the CP because of his wife's objections.

#### DOBBS, BEN

DOBBS represents the Southern California District of the CP on the NC and holds the position of Executive Secretary of that District.

DOBBS was seheduled to enter the hospital on 3/23/61, for an operation on his throat. Doctors have warned DOBBS the his condition could lead to cancer.

## FLYNN, ELIZABETH GURLEY

FLYNN is an at large member of the NC and was recently elected to fill the position of National Chairman vacated by the death of EUGENE DENNIS. FLYNN has also been elected to membership on the CP, USA National Board. FLYNN gave the principal address at a Midwest meeting celebrating the 37th Anniversary of "The Worker" held on 1/27/61. She described her recent eight month trip through the socialist countries of Europe stating that she had visited five countries. FLYNN was poetic in her description of the new cities which had been built since Communism took over. In her conclusion, FLYNN said she hoped that everyone present would join her in the fight to convert this country to Communism.

NY 100-133884 FLYNN is presently on a two month trip to the West Coast, making speeches regarding her trip abroad. FRIEDLANDER, MIRIAM WEYEDLANDER is a member of the NC, representing the NY District and continues to hold the title of Bronx County Organizer. FRIEDLANDER regularly attends meetings of the NY District CP Board. FRIEDLANDER had anticipated being appointed as head of the CP Defense Committee, the position to which ARNOLD JOHNSON has recently been appointed. FRIEDLANDER since learning that she will not receive this position, has been attempting to obtain full-time employment outside the CP. GERSON, SIMON GERSON is an at large member of the NC. reportedly has been made a member of the Political Action and Legislative Commission of the NY CP District. GERSON continues to be active in his employment with Afton Tours, NYC. GREEN, JACOB GREEN is a member of the NC representing the Maryland District. He continues to be active in CP affairs among Negroes in the Baltimore area. 11

### HAALAND, NORMAN

HAALAND is a member of the NC representing the Oregon District.

HAALAND, as a result of charges by an Oregon CP State Board member, accusing him of an anti-Party position and anti-leadership, was ordered to appear for trial before the Trial Committee of the CP of Oregon on 1/15/61. As a result of this meeting, HAALAND on 3/3/61, agreed to resign his position as Oregon State CP Chairman. This resignation automatically removed him from membership on the Oregon CP State Board but did not effect his membership on the NC, since he was elected to membership on the NC, by that committee.

## HALL, FLORA

HALL is a member of the NC representing the Illinois District.

HALL, in January and February, 1961, continued to be active in handling the registration of individual CP members in the Illinois CP District. She also remains most active in handling the daily affairs of the CP in Illinois.

# HALL, GUS

HALL is an at large member of the NC and holds the title of General Secretary of the CP, USA. HALL continues to be most active in all phases of CP activity on a national level. Recently, HALL indicated that if he is to be "boss" he must also control all Party funds. HALL said he realizes that he can have collective leadership, but cannot, as leader of the Party; be friends with everyone.

HALL also holds membership on the recently organized CP National Board.

NY 100-133884 HALL departed with his wife and family from NYC by automobile, on 3/30/61, for the purpose of a trip to Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis and Detroit. This is to be a combined vacation and business trip, and it is expected that HALL will return to NY on 4/17/61. HATHAWAY, CLARENCE HATHAWAY is an at large member of the NC and holds the position of Chairman of the NY District. He was elected to the CP National Board and also is a member of the Peace Commission, Trade Union Commission and the Political Action and Legislation Commission of the NY CP District. HATHAWAY is convalescing at home, as a result of an asthmatic attack and has not attended any CP meetings outside his home for several weeks. HEALEY, DOROTHY HEALEY is a member of the NC representing the Southern California District of the CP, and in addition holds the position of Chairman of that District. HEALEY, in March, 1961, began to reactivate herself in CP matters, after a period of convalescence following a hysterectomy she underwent in late 1960. Due to her health, she was unable to attend the last National Committee meeting held in NYC, in January, 1961. 13 -

NY 100-133884 JACKSON, JAMES E. JACKSON is an at large member of the NC. In addition, he holds the position of Editor of "The Worker". JACKSON was recently elected as a member of the newly created National Board. JACKSON during the past month has been in attendance at various meetings on a national level in the Party, and has addressed the NY State CP Committee concerning the significance of the 81-Party Statement issued at the November, 1960 Conference at Moscow, which he attended. JACKSON, in the recent past, was felled by virus presumonia and became relatively inactive in Party affairs. He expects to resume full activity in the near future. JOHNSON, ARNOLD JOHNSON is an at large member of the NC and is reportedly a member of the Peace Commission of the NY CP District. JOHNSON was in attendance at the last meeting of the NC held in January, 1961, at which time he gave a report which dealt with civil liberties and the necessity of working for peace. At a meeting of the National Executive Committee held on 3/9 - 10/61, in NYC, the matter of legal defense of the Party was discussed. ARNOLD JOHNSON, at this meeting, was formally placed in charge of the legal defense work for the Party. JOHNSON presented a report to this meeting, in which he recommended that all districts should set up defense committees. 14 -

NY 100-133884 In addition, JOHNSON has been named as one of the individuals who will work for and with the National Board, but will not be a member thereof. KRCHMAREK. AZTON KRCHMAREK is a member of the NC representing the Ohio District. In addition, KRCHMAREK also holds the position of State Chairman of the Ohio CP. KRCHMAREK continues to be active in the work of the CP, USA Steel Commission, attending a meeting of that commission on 1/19/61, at which he gave a report. He also attended the three day meeting of the NC held in NY, on 1/20 - 22/61, and served as Chairman of the second day of sessions of that meeting. In addition, KRCHMAREK remains active in the affairs of the CP in Ohio, and attended a meeting of the County Committee of the CP of Cleveland, on 1/6/61. KUSHNER, SAM KUSHNER is a member of the NC representing the Illinois District. In addition, he is Midwest Editor of "The Worker". Members of the CP of Indiana, Steel Section, have recently expressed criticism over the fact that the CP, USA regards KUSHNER and EMANUEL BLUM as the ultimate when decisions affecting steel are made by the Party. These members pointed out that the Natlonal Steel Commission is 1.5

being run by persons who have no knowledge of steel and who are not steel workers. These members have refused to listen to KUSHNER concerning any criticism of the Indiana Steel Section since they contend that he knows very little about problems in the steel field.

## LIGHTFOOT, CLAUDE

LIGHTFOOT is a member of the NC representing the Illinois District and holds the position of Vice Chairman of the CP, USA. LIGHTFOOT has also been named as a member of the new National Board of the CP. LIGHTFOOT continues to travel for the National Office, CP, USA, and spends very little time conducting Party business in the Illinois District. Although Chairman of the CP of Illinois, LIGHTFOOT has indicated that he prefers to work for the National Office and has very little concern over the leadership squabbles of the CP of Illinois.

# LIGHTFOOT, GERALDYNE

GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOT is a member at large of the NC, but no longer serves as Press Director of the CP of Illinois.

Since her return from Russia in 1960, she has made a number of speeches concerning her trip abroad. GERALDYNE LIGHTFOOThopes to return to the Soviet Union sometime in the Spring of 1961, and has indicated a desire to co-ordinate and assist in getting other people to visit the Soviet Union, in order that they may bring back the truth about Russia.

NY 100-133884 LIMA, ALBERT "MICREY" LIMA is a member of the NC representing the Northern California District, and functions as Chairman of that District. LIMA is currently making numerous speeches before both open and closed meetings regarding the Moscow Conference of 81 CPs which he attended during November - December, 1960. LIMA has stated that the World Socialist Movement has impressed him as being a powerful and irrestible force in comparsion with capitalism, which is currently in a general crisis. LUMER, HYMAN LUMER is an at large member of the MC, and holds the position of National Education Secretary. LUMER has also been elected to membership on the CP National Board. On 2/20/61, the US Supreme Court denied ceritiorari in LUMER's case under the Labor - Management Relations Act of 1947. It appears that LUMER will be required to surrender himself in the near future to begin serving a 18 months prison sentence. As was previously mentioned in the remarks concerning JIM ALLEN, LUMER at a meeting of CP Functionaries on 3/23/61, requested a leave of absence for approximately six months in order to get his affairs in order, in the event that he has to go to prison. At this meeting, it was stated that LUMER would be replaced by JAMES ALLEN. Information recently received indicates, however, that LUMER will not take a leave of absence, and is continuing to serve as CP Education Director. 17

## MC ADORY, MILDRED (EDELMAN)

MC ADORY is an at large member of the NC, a member of the NY District CP Board, and a member of the Harlem Regional Committee of the CP.

At a meeting of the NY District CP Board held, 2/2/61, she was proposed as a member of the Negro Commission of the NY District. MC ADORY has recently attended meetings of this Commission. In addition, there was a question as to whether MC ADORY or PAUL ROBESON, JR., would be made a member of the Youth Commission of the District. CLARENCE HATHAWAY has indicated a preference for MC ADORY.

### MEYERS, GEORGE

MEYERS is an at large member of the NC. In addition, he has been placed in charge of the CP activities in the South, the main function of which is to re-organize the CP in the South.

MEYERS has stated that his family is putting pressure on him to stay home at night and not to go out on CP matters. It has been reported that MEYERS because of this pressure at homewas unable to attend a recent meeting of the CP Negro Commission. MEYERS, although not a member of the Negro Commission, has been proposed for membership to that body.

## MITCHELL, CHARLENE

MITCHELL is a member of the NC representing the Southern California District of the CP. In addition, she holds a position on the Executive Board of that District.

MITCHELL has been removed from all youth work allegedly because of her health. Her present assignment is the teaching of Marxist classes, and as such attends meetings of the Education Commission of the District.

#### NABRIED, THOMAS

NABRIED is a member of the NC representing the Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware District. In addition, he is employed full-time by the Party in the capacity of District Chairman.

NABRIED continues to attend meetings of the National Negro Commission. He is believed to have been made a member of the National Negro Commission.

# NELSON, BURT GALE

NELSON represents the Midwest District on the NC, and also serves as Chairman of that District.

NELSON has recently made attempts to set up tentative plans for the appearance of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN in the State of Washington. NELSON has complained that his communications from the National Office concerning this trip have been so vague as to force him to wait until FLYNN actually arrives in Washington before stablizing these plans.

# O'DELL, HUNTER PITTS

O'DELL is a member of the NC representing the South. O'DELL was in attendance on 2/17 and 18/61, at a work shop

NY 100-133884 on Race Blas in Frade Unions and Government conducted by the Negro American Labor Council in Washington, D.C. Approximately 1500 people were in attendance at this function. O'DELL continues to avoid going to CP headquarters, NYC and has not taken part in any open CP activity. He is Working on behalf of MARTIN LUTHER KING at 312 West 125th Street, NYC. This is the address of the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which conference is headed by MARTIN LUTHER KING. PATTERSON, WILLIAM L. position of Vice Chairman of the NY District. In addition. he is a member of the Special Organizational Commission and, the Negro Commission of the NY CP District, and a member of

PATTERSON is an at large member of the NC and holds the the National Negro Commission of the CP, USA. He regularly attends meetings of the National leadership as well as meetings of the NY District CP Board.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN has commented that recently PATTERSON had written a resolution on the Negro question which was so amateurish and stupid that everyone rejected it.

## PERRY, PETTIS

PERRY was discharged as a patient of the Olive View Sanatorium, Olive View, California, where he had been confined as a tuberculosis patient. His doctor has advised that PERRY has a heart condition, and a mild case of diabetes, which can be controlled by diet.

NY 100-133884 PERRY has not engaged in any CP activity since being discharged from the hospital. POTASH, IRVING POTASH is an at large member of the NC, and functions as Labor Secretary of the CP, USA. He has been elected to membership on the CP Board, and continues to attend meetings on a national level. POTASH's status with INS remains unchanged. He continues under Order of Supervision awaiting deportation. PROCTOR, ROSCOE PROCTOR is a member of the NC representing the Northern California District. He is also a member of the Northern California CP District Committee and is employed as a warehouseman. PROCTOR, who attended the CP Lcadership School at Briehl's Farm, in NY, during November - Docember, 1960, is now established as Chairman of the Northern California CP Education Committee. He is presently building the membership of this Committee with representatives from each county organization. He plans to schedule and conduct classes in Marxism - Leninism, and emphasizes the importance of establishing a National Education Program for all members for the purpose of revitalizing and stimulating the Party. 21

#### QUEEN, DANIEL

QUEEN is an at large member of the NC. QUEEN has been travelling for the Organizing Committee to establish a Markism - Leninism Youth Organization throughout the country. It was determined in January, 1961, that at the National Committee meeting in NY, QUEEN expressed the view that there is not too much enthusiasm for such a Youth Organization, however, GUS HALL took exception to this view, stating that QUEEN was wrong in this concept.

#### RICHMOND, AL

RICHMOND is an at large member of the NC, and holds the position of Executive Editor of the "People's World".

RICHMOND is energetically participating in the CP Peace Program. He has stated that the peace movement is one of the greatest mass population movements of all times, and that it was a major political obligation of the Party units and each individual member to participate.

RICHMOND has expended much effort to support the 4/1/61 Easter Peace Walk sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and has been in frequent contact with representatives of that organization.

# ROBESON, PAUL, JR.

ROBESON, JR. is a member of the NC representing the NY District, and a leading figure in the Harlem CP. Recently he has been conducting educational classes for various CP members in Harlem.

ROBESON attends meetings of the Harlem CP Regional Committee and it was recently indicated POPESON will be the Organizer of the Lower 13th Assembly District Club of the CP.

ROBESON, JR. recently flew to Russia to visit his father PAUL ROBESON, SR., who is reportedly sick in Russia.

## ROSENBLUTH, NAT

ROSENBLUTH is a member of the NC, representing the NY District. Recently, a biographical sketch of ROSENBLUTH was obtained. Therein it was indicated that ROSENBLUTH is a member of the ILGWU and that his occupation is "cutter-ladies' suite". The sketch also indicates that ROSENBLUTH is a member of the Craft Club of the CP as well as a member of SANE. It is noted that ROSENBLUTH is Chairman of the Garment Region of the CP.

GUS HALL, at a recent meeting of 'CP Functionaries, refused to consider ROSENBLUTH along with MICHAEL CRENOVICH for membership on a committee to revise and amend the CP constitution, because of his poor attitude.

# RUBIN, MORTIMER DANIEL

RUBIN is an at large member of the NC representing Youth and holds the position of CP, USA National Youth Director. RUBIN reportedly will work with and for the new CP National Board, but is not a member of the Board.

NY 100-133884 RUBIN's principal activity is in connection with the publication "New Horizons for Youth". RUBIN, in March, 1960, travelled to Boston, Massachusetts, and Detroit, Michigan, on CP matters. STACHEL, JACOB STACHEL is an at large member of the NC and Chairman of the National Groups Commission of the CP, USA. It has been reported that together with PHIL BART and BETTY GANNETT, STACHEL has been given the assignment for arranging for a skelton underground operation in the event of adverse court decisions against the CP. STACHEL is reportedly a member of the CP National Board. STANFORD, JOHN STANFORD is a member of the NC representing the South and continues to be the main CP leader in the San Antonio, Texas area. STANFORD is the Executive Secretary of the CP of Texas and one of the two Texas representatives to the Southern Regional Committee of the CP. STANFORD remains active in all phases of CP activity in the San Antonio area and continues his efforts to re-organize the CP in this area. TOOHEY, PATRICK TOOHEY is a member of the NC representing the New Jersey District, and is State Chairman of the New Jersey CP. 24

TOOHEY has been out of the State, vacationing in Florida since the middle of February, 1961. Prior to leaving on vacation, TOOHEY met with the National Secretariat and New Jersey and NY CP leaders to furnish an extensive report on the condition of the CP of New Jersey, and its various programs. TOOHEY was critical of relations existing between the CP of New Jersey and the National Office of the CP, USA, the main criticism being that a feeling of isolation was developing in New Jersey as a result of the National Office's failure to aid the State through public speakers and personal contact. TOOHEY returned from his vacation in the later part of March, 1961.

# TORMEY, BETTY GANNETT

TORMEY is a member of the NC representing the NY District. In addition, she is a member of the full-time staff of the NY State CP and holds the title of Organizational and Educational Director of the District. TORMEY has been scheduled to function as an instructor at the NY School for Marxist Studies.

In addition to the above assignments, TORMEY has been assigned along with PHIL BART and JACK STACHEL with the task of arranging for a skeleton underground operation to be outlined in the event of adverse court decisions affecting the CP.

## TORMEY, JAMES

TORMEY is a member of the NC representing the NY District. He also holds the position of Kings County CP Organizer. TORMEY is no longer on the payroll of the NY District and is reportedly seeking employment outside the Party. TORMEY was recently made a member of the Special Organizational Commission and the Negro Commission of the NY CP District.

#### WEINSTOCK, LOUIS

WEINSTOCK is a member of the NC representing the NY District and holds the position of General Manager of "The Worker".

In late, January, 1961, it was learned that WEINSTOCK had completed the necessary arrangements and can now handle for the CP, USA, any messages which must be transmitted to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

WEINSTOCK, in March, 1961, made a trip to Miami Beach, Florida, in connection with his duties as General Manager of "The Worker", for the stated purpose of raising funds for a Marxist daily newspaper.

### WEINSTONE, WILLIAM

WEINSTONE was elected a member of the NC at a meeting of that body, held at NYC, 1/20 - 22/61.

It has been previously reported that the CP, USA was considering sending WEINSTONE to Prague, for a period of one year as the CP, USA representative on the staff of "World Marxist Review". Recently, however, GUS HALL has said that WEINSTONE would not be considered for this assignment, because of the fact that he would replace HYMAN LUMER as National Education Director of the CP, USA, at such a time as LUMER is incarcerated in the Federal Penitentary. As has been previously stated, it now appears that JAMES ALLEN will succeed LUMER in this position. WEINSTONE's status is vague at the present time. suspected that he will continue to function as an assistant to the CP, USA Education Director. HYMAN LUMER has stated that WEINSTONE is not in a position to accept the Directorship of the Educational Commission because of his poor health. WEINSTONE reportedly will work with and for the new CP National Board, but is not a member of that group.

#### WEST, JAMES

WEST is a member of the NC representing the Illinois District.

WEST along with HYMAN LUMER is facing imminent imprisonment, for a period of 18 months, as:a result of a conviction under the Labor - Management Relations Act of 1947. In the recent past, WEST's activities have lessened to a great degree. However, in late, 1960, he spoke at a meeting of the Wisconsin State Commission of the CP.

### WHEELER, JUANITA

WHEELER is a member of the NC representing the Northern California District. She is employed as Circulation Manager of the "People's World".

WHEELER, who attended the CP Leadership School at Briehl's Farm, Wallkill, New York, during November - December, 1960, is now co-Chairman of the newly established Northern California CP Education Committee.

## WINTER, CARL

WINTER is a member of the NC representing the Michigan District. In addition, he is a member of the National Executive Committee, CP, USA, and the Chairman of the Midwest Region of the CP, USA. WINTER devotes his full-time to CP activity. He occasionally writes articles for "The Worker" and has been reported as an Associate Editor for this publication.

WINTER reportedly spoke at the University of Iowa, on 2/23/61, replacing HYMAN LUMER who was originally scheduled to make this speech.

### WINTER, HELEN MARY

HELEN WINTER is a member at large of the NC. She continues to manage the affairs of Global Books, a Detroit CP book store. Since returning from her attendance at the CP conference in Moscow, she has delivered numerous speeches regarding her trip. None of these discussions have been open to the public and all have been by invitation only.

HELEN WINTER continues to be active as a leader on both the national and local CP levels in Michigan.

### PART II

It was recently learned that GUS HALL, in discussing EMANUEL BLUM's attendance at a National Executive Committee meeting, stated that BLUM has been "tinkering" with the ultra-left and that the National Office has been worried for a long time about BLUM's affiliation with the leftist gang. BLUM. Was invited to the National Executive Committee meeting in an effort to win him over to the line of the National Office.

EENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR. has in the past been very critical of the leadership of the Party due to its lack of interest in activity surrounding the events in the Congo, and the death of PATRICE LUMUMBA, in particular. He continually refers to the Party leadership as being "morons" or "meatheads", more interested in talking than doing actual work.

Privately DAVIS has been most critical of the selection of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN as Chairman of the Party. He has described FLYNN as that "old drunken Irishman" and has commented that FLYNN rather than inspiring leadership is a laughing stock. DAVIS has stated that people outside of the Party must wonder what kind of organization would be so weak as to have that "mound of flab as a leader".

Negro CP members in the Baltimore area have been complaining more and more of the fact that they are apparently doing more CP work and contributing more to the Party than the white comrades. JACOB GREEN in a conversation with BENJAMIN DAVIS stated that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and WILLIAM PATTERSON, while in Philadelphia during January, 1961, were extremely critical of Baltimore for placing CP members as officers in local chapters of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC). Apparently they were also opposed to Baltimore CP activities in the youth field.

GREEN could not understand LIGHTFOOT's attitude and subsequently contacted both WILLIAM PATTERSON and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and stated that both he and GEORGE MEYERS were upset over the criticism of Baltimore work in the Negro National Committee meeting in Philadelphia on 1/14 - 15/61. GREEN said that the statements by PATTERSON and LIGHTFOOT at the meeting indicated that Baltimore was incorrect in dominating and holding officership in the NALC in Baltimore. GREEN explained to them that if it were not for the efforts of the CP in Baltimore, there would be no local NALC.

GREEN said he intended to bring GUS HALL and BEN DAVIS into this discussion. Following this LIGHTFOOT and PATTERSON apologized and said that they had not understood the situation. GREEN then criticized both of them for poor leadership and accused LIGHTFOOT of being a right revisionist.

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In the Southern California District, CHARLENE MITCHELL is still the center of a controversy between the Negro comrades on the Executive Board of the Southern California District because of her removal as a paid CP functionary. The Negro cadre has charged that the Southern California District leadership, particularly BEN DOBBS and DOROTHY HEALEY, with being chauvinistic.

Events in the Northwest District of the CP, indicate that the Whatcom CP Section is still opposed to the leader-ship of BURT NELSON, in view of the fact that one CP member in that section lost about \$5,000.00 in a TV stock venture which had been promoted by NELSON for the benefit of the Northwest District. NELSON is apparently unaware that this CP section has complained to the National CP Office, and that there have been rumbles in the National Office Indicating that GUS HALL or other CP functionaries might come to Seattle to question NELSON about this "misappropriation of funds".

NELSON has made numerous enemies within the CP since becoming District Chairman both at local and national levels, and it is believed that once someone in authority has severly criticized NELSON, criticism will then come from several directions.

## PART III

The financial situation of BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR. remains critical with his wife continually nagging him for not, earning enough money to put food on the table. DAVIS! wife has repeatedly urged DAVIS to leave the CP and do something on his own. DAVIS has indicated that he is thinking along these lines.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

CARL EDELMAN, of MILDRED MC ADORY EDELMAN, has left home. CARL, who is of the white race, and the son of JOE EDELMAN by a previous marriage, entered into a controversy with his father by refusing to call his Negro step-mother by the term "mother". CARL EDELMAN left home as a result of 'this argument.

During the recent past, SAM.KUSHNER separated from his wife, SYLVIA, as a result of FLO HALL forcing him to choose between his wife and herself. KUSHNER is presently residing at the Academy Animal Hospital, 5526 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois.

The relationship between KUSHNER and HALL has been the subject of discussion by the National leadership as well as the Illinois District leadership. KUSHNER, when approached by JIM WEST claimed that the separation between his wife and himself was based solely on matters existing between them, and he denied any relationship with FLO HALL.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, during a recent visit to Chicago, spoke with both HALL and KUSHNER concerning this situation, and it has been learned that GUS HALL has also spoken of the relationship of HALL and KUSHNER to other members of the Illinois leadership.

The love affair between THOMAS NABRIED and FRANCES GABOW, Philadelphia CP member, has diminished greatly during the past month for no apparent reason and appears to be finished. NABRIED continues to live with ELEANOR WILLMAMS, a Negro CP member, in a common law arrangement that is harmonious. NABRIED and ELEANOR WILLIAMS continue to place small number bets daily.

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\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

An article appearing in the "Dallas Morning News", dated 2/5/61, identified JOHN WILLIAM STANFORD, JR., as State Organizer of the CP, USA, in the State of Texas. On the day following the appearance of this article in the paper, Mrs. JOHN WILLIAM STANFORD, SR., step-mother of JOHN STANFORD, appeared at the Dallas Office of the FBI accompanied by her attorney. Mrs. STANFORD stated that she had read the article in the newspaper and wished to cooperate in anyway with the Dallas Office. Mrs. STANFORD stated that JOHN WILLIAM STANFORD, JR., inherited over \$200,000 from his father, which is being held in trust. She stated that she has no intention of ever letting this money get into the hands of STANDORD, JR., in view of his alleged CP membership.

It has been learned that BURT NELSON is now claiming that attempts are being made on his life. It has also been determined that NELSON has also claimed that a floral wreath had been placed on his doorstep, on 3/9/61, and that this floral piece was addressed to NELSON's wife, implying that NELSON was dead. This angered NELSON to the point where he verbelly attacked one of his neighbors for this action. This neighbor, however, was apparently able to convince NELSON that he had nothing to do with this matter. As a result, NELSON became exceedingly drunk during the early morning hours of 3/9/61, and instructed his wife to conduct an immediate investigation, commencing at the florist where the wreath was purchased in Seattle.

NELSON's wife conducted a thorough investigation of this matter and found that the floral wreath had been sent to her by NELSON's daughter, as a greeting and best wishes for a happy International Women's Day, but that the floral piece.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

During a recent visit to New York City, GEORGE MEYERS accepted the hospitality of ARNOLD JOHNSON and visited his home. JOHNSON's wife offered MEYERS a can of beer, which he drank in one gulp, and then, without asking permission, ran to the kitchen and took another can of beer from the refrigerator. This caused Mrs. JOHNSON to express surprise and to state the MEYERS was acting like a lunatic. She further told MEYERS that she had seen him act that way once or twice before and advised him to calm down.

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

1

OT

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-76)

DATE: 4-14-61

FROM

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33745)

SUBJECT:

CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS

IS - C (OO:NY)

SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN TENDS TO JEOPARDIZE THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT EXTREME CARE BE UTILIZED IN ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING THEREOF. THIS INFORMATION WAS DEVELOPED DURING THE COURSE OF A CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSION WITH GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, WHO, DURING MID-APRIL, 1961, ENGAGED IN A SECRET TRIP TO THE MIDWEST. AT NO TIME DURING ANY DISCUSSIONS WITH HALL WERE THERE MORE THAN THREE ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING HALL, INVOLVED.

3-Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM) (Progressive Youth Organizing Committee) (1-100-434236 6-New York (RM)

\_(I-100-80532

(HERBERT APTHEKER) (GUS HALL)

(1-100-84994)

(1-100-128255 (1-100-80641)

(CP, USA - Organization)

(1-100-80664

(CP. USA - Youth Matters)

(1-100-143130

(Progressive Youth Organizing Committee)

4-Chicago

(1-A) 134-46)

(1-100-18957

(CP. Illinois District - Youth Matters)

(1-100-37728

(Progressive Youth Organizing Committee)

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CG 100-33745

ReCGlet dated April 12, 1961, to Director and captioned as above.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies of an informant's statement dated April 13, 1961, containing information orally furnished on April 13, 1961, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on April 14, 1961.

ReCGlet transmitted to the Bureau and New York two photostats of the two-page mimeographed item referred to in the enclosed informant's report which had been sent out by the National Office, Communist Party, USA, and which dealt with youth matters.

#### April 13, 1961

On April 11, 1961, GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), first became aware of the fact that the National Office, CP, USA, had sent out to the members of the National Committee under the date of April 5, 1961, a two-page mimeographed item purporting to be a summary of a report by HERBERT APTHEKER dealing with "developments on the campus."

HALL was very critical of this item and felt that the National Office had no business in sending it out. He noted that some of the National Executive Board discussions are held in private and caution must be used in what they send out.

According to HALL, he was afraid they might and was surprised when they did not mention in this summary some of the organizational motions voted on in regard to the youth situation. One such motion HALL noted was that the Party was not going to build organizations of its own on college campuses if socialist clubs or other similar organizations were in existence. The Party would work from within such existing organizations and they would not attempt to set up rival organizations.

In concluding his discussions regarding this matter, HALL noted that HERBERT APTHEKER, in fact, had not made the report referred to in the item sent out by the National Office but rather it had been made by DANNY RUBIN.

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Date received	Received from (name or symbol number)	Received by
3/7/61		SA ROBERT G. CASEY b71
Method of delivery (c)	eck appropriate blocks)	
[3] in person	by telephone by mail a or	rally recording device written by Informant
If orally furnished and	reduced to writing by Agent:	Date of Report
Dietar 4 3/2	10 to	3/7/61
Transcribed 3/13	3/61 by Janice S. Meier	Date(s) of activity
Authenticated 3/2	22/61	2/18/61
Brief description of a	tivity or material	
Market of the second of the se		
Lar Horkbri	ponsored meeting, 2/18/ Apthaker	OT SECOND
		File where original is located if not attache
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Remarks: SOUP		
المتاريخ	261	
(1 - 10) (1 - 10) (1 - 10) (1 - 10) (1 - 10) (1 - 10) (1 - 10)	LOC-24729 D-26652 D-2748 SAM KUSHNER D-WFS.	APTHEKER) (RM)
1 - 100-956 1 - 100-878 1 - 100-110 1 - 100-824	l	I - IP ±00-9529 1 - 100-10487 (SAM KUSHNER) 1 - 100-1020 1 - 100-9930  (WORKER)  SEARCHED SERIALIZED APR 1 V 1961 FBI - NEW YORK  FCOSLIGHT  TO SERIALIZED APR 2 3 2
		4135

3/7/61

On the evening of 2/18/61 a Communist Party sponsored meeting featuring Herbert Aptheker was held at the Chicago, Illinois residence of Vera and Manny Blum.

Some twenty-four to twenty-six individuals were in attendance at this meeting including four persons from Gary, Indiana, who arrival late.

Aptheker's discussion centered around the recent incidence involving Negroes in the South, and the poor economic condition of the workers in the southern states.

Those in attendance in addition to Vera and Manny Blum included:

Sam Kushner

A woman believed to be Sam Kushner's wife

Linda\_

Frank - White, approximately sixty years of age, 6', 190 pounds, grayish hair, clean shaven

Harry - Negro, approximately forty-five years of age, 175 pounds, light brown complexion, black hair, balding on forehead, wears glasses

Art Adams - From Gary, Indiana Jessie Reese - From Gary, Indiana John Boxley - From Gary, Indiana Bea Lumpkin - From Gary, Indiana

Refreshments were served during the evening and Vera Blum announced that another meeting featuring Aptheker would be advertised in "The Worker" and would be held on 3/3/61.

A collection was taken up during the meeting but the amount donated is unknown.

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#### MEDIORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ΦO

SAC, NEW YORK (100-9365)

DATE: 4/11/61

FRCM

: SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY (#414)

SUBJECT:

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

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                                DAVIS) (415)
                  (BENJAMIN
 1 - NY 100~23825
                                                                       b7C
1 - NY 100-18065
                                                                       b7D
1 - NY 100-16785
1 - NY 100-16021
                  (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
1 - NY 100-67234
1 - NY 100-130397
1 - NY 100-120546
1 - NY 100-138281
1 - NY 100-136745
1 - NY 100-114956
1 - NY 100-136669
1 - NY 100-136799
1 - NY 100-139663
1 - NY 100-125194 (ED LNU) (55 yrs., bald, WM, 5'6", was at
                  Workers Readers Conference; at WILLIAM Z.
                  FOSTER Birthday Celebration, 3/3/61; per
1 - NY 100-144043
                                                                       b3
1 - NY 100-125899
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                   WILLIAM Z. FOSTER Birthday Celebration,
                                            (412)
                                                                       b7D
                   (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
 1 - NY 100-1696
1 - NY 100-26018
                    LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (415)
 1 - NY 100-84994
                   (GUS HALL) (415)
(1) - NY 100-80532
1 - NY 100-111666
                   (HERBERT APTHEKER) (415)
 1 - NY 100-88013
 <u>1 - NY 100-134884</u>
                                                  805323170
 (Copies continued on following page)
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 1 - NY 100-9365 (415)
                                         Serialized
                                             APRIL 11
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EWB : gmg
                                             FBI-NEW YORK
 (32)
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Identity of Source	who has furnished b3 b7D reliable info in the past (conceal)
Description of Info	Informant reported on WILLIAM Z. FOSTER Birthday Celebration and The Worker Celebration held at Carnegie Hall (3/3/61)
Date Received	3/15/61
Received by	SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY (written)
Original Location	
A copy of informant's	written report follows:

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Copies (cont'd)		
1 - NY 100-102944 1 - NY 100-100308 1 - NY 100-141170 1 - NY 100-42593 1 - NY 100-94429		15). 19:1

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NY 100-3965 March 5, 1961 The Worker and W. Z. FOSTER Celebration March 3, 1961 8 to 11 pm Carnegie Hall 1500 present The following were present: (1)BEN DAVIS, speaker ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, speaker JACK STACHEL LOUIS WEINSTOCK, speaker JAMES JACKSON, chairman GUS HALL, speaker ARNOLD JOHNSON HERBERT APTHEKER RUTH ROBERTS 10) JACK SEHULMAN 11) ANTON NOVAK lla) SOPHIE NACIEMENTO, she was selling literature in the Hall. (12) STANLEY GOODMAN 13) HENRY REININGER 14) CHARLES ROSEN 14a) JACOB ROSEN 15) LORI TAYLOR 16) STANLEY LUBKA 17) EMMA MC NEIL 18) MATT BORENSTEIN 19) SHEILAH COHEN 20) AL ZAGARELL 21) EUGENE YOUNG 22) FRED YOUNG 23) MILTON ANTHOPOLOS (24) BENNY LNU, he was selling "The Worker" again (25) ED LNU, 55 years, bald, WM, 5'6", was at Workers Readers Conference - 2 -

(26) HOWIE LNU.

(27) JEANETTE LNU, fat sloppy looking.

JAMES JACKSON spoke for a few minutes. He spoke of the brutality in Africa, the murder of Lumumba, U.S. monopoly capitalism and imperialism. He said some kind words about WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and the Soviet Union. JACKSON asked everyone to stand for Lumumba's death.

HYMAN LUMER told of the 18 month sentence imposed on him for refusing to answer questions of the HUAC. One stool pigeon was the witness against him and six others. LUMER was introduced as the educational director of the Communist Party. He spoke of Feemmergence of McCartheism with the sentencing of FRANK WILKERSON and CARL BRADEN.

GUS HALL said a few words about FOSTER and the present C.P. The importance of "The Worker" and the C.P. was explained.

ELIZABETH G. FLYNN told of her 50 year old acquaintance with FOSTER, how she met him in 1909 and how they were both arrested. She said FOSTER now has the use of his right hand due to the good treatment in the Soviet Union.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK spoke and made an appeal for funds for "The Worker." \$3,000 more is needed and must be raised tonight, we have already collected \$7000. He read a list of the money collected from the boroughs of NYC and the various organizations in NYC and vicinity. Perhaps \$3000 was collected this evening.

A choir from Philadelphia sang several songs in different languages. They received long applause.

To who ever contributed, 3 "Workers" were given to the contributor in exchange.

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NY 100-9365 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* It is to be noted that the JEANETTE LNU mentioned in above report is identical with JEANETTE ROSENBERG. It should also be noted that BENNY LNU referred to above is identical with SAUL GROSS. - 4 -

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782)

Date:

4/19/61

b7D

FROM:

SA WILLIAM G. CURRALL #41

SUBJECT:

NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR

MARXIST STUDIES

IS-C

On 3/24/61, who was in a position to furnish reliable information, made available a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the New York School for Marxist Studies on October 10, 1960. This material is being maintained as New York Exhibit 100-142782-1B5 (2). Care should be taken in reporting this material to carefully paraphrase information so as not to disclose the source. The material included the following:

/ny 100-8053<u>2 (herbert aptheker)</u> (415) 1-NY 100-343 b6 b7C 1-NY 100-9085<del>3</del> 1-NY 100-54089 1-NY 100-13483 1-NY 100-61647 1-NY 100-15577 1-NY 100-26448 1-NY 100-80334 1-NY 100-142290 1-NY 100-136814 1-NY 100-81450 (JIM (N.J.) who pledged \$100.00 1-NY 100to the New York School for Marxist Studies) (412) 1-NY 100-134920 (SCOPE) 00-805323 1-NY 101-559 1-NY 100-133195 SEARCHED ... 1-NY 100-20 SERIALIZED 1-NY 100-36944 +::1 9 *1*961 1-NY 100-20789 (WEB DU BOIS)(422) 1-NY 100-8033 FBI - NEW YORK 1-NY 100-120546 1-NY 100-25623 1-NY 100-90488 1-NY 100-142782 (41)

WGC:das

MINUTES: MEETING, 10/10/60

PRESENT: HA Chairman

JG SD Myron  $\mathbb{B}\mathbb{G}$ Stanley HK JH SF

GH

The meeting was called to order and the following reports were submitted:

FINANCE: (HA):

The pledge of \$100.00 (Jim-N.J.) had been collected. The School received a contribution of \$25., plus an additional \$100 towards JH pledge: Total deposited during week of 10/3/60 - \$225.: withdrawn - \$130. An additional donation of a \$15. lecture fee was offered by Jonah G., and was gratefully accepted. JH reported that he had spent an additional \$200., which was to be deducted from his original pledge of \$1,000.

JR

MAILING: (BG):

A total of 1400 catalogs had been mailed out.

ADV.&PUBLICITY:

SCOPE reported that 2 CCNY papers had accepted our ad: all other acceptances had not been confirmed. SCOPE is to submit a detailed report in writing to HA reporting all instances where schools have refused our advertisement, for the purpose of follow-up action by HA.

(JH): Ads will be placed with the Freheit, Village Voice, and Amst. News on Tuesday, 10/11. No ads have been placed in the Spanish papers as per the advice tendered by Jesus C. A further report on advertising rates on radio stations featuring Spanish language broadcasts will be made at the next meeting.

Myron pointed out that the ads placed in the Guardian and Worker had failed to mention SCOPE. It was agreed that this was an oversight and that this omission would not occur in any future ads in these papers.

(SF): Suggested that all trade union papers particularly District 65's, be checked to ascertain whether they would accept our advertisements. SD will act on this.

(HA): Suggested and agreed that the Dr. DuBois statement which had been read at the initial reception given for the school, be made the subject of a press release.

(JG): Suggested that a letter be written to the original list of people who sponsored the school prior to its opening, enclosing a copy of the catalog, a copy of the Dr. DuBois statement, and a request that they permit us to use their names as official sponsors.

(BG): Reported that Eliz. Lawson was sending out a letter to her own list with regard to HA's courses; this led to the general agreement that additional letters be sent to the Emma Lazarus Federation, the Jewish Culture Clubs, the Women's Com. Forum, etc.

JG stated that he would contact Morris Schappes for additional lists.

AFFAIRS:

(SD): Reported that the Committee appointed to handle the 11/14 affair had failed to meet. A report will be given at the nextmeeting.

(SD): Spoke to Carl; the affair has to be cleared through other channels.

It was suggested that we try to arrange an .... affair in the vicinity of Great Neck. will act on this.

NY 100-142782 ACTIVITIES OF AD-HOC COMMITTEE:

(SD): Suggested that the following committee be established to carry on the work of the faculty and that their findings and reports be stated at a monthly meeting:

1: Comm. for Curriculum, Forums, Conferences, and Faculty Activities. Suggested: Sam D., Henry K., Betty G., Herb A., Sid F., and one SCOPE representative (the latter to be discussed at the next SCOPE meeting.)

2: Finance and House Committee Suggested: Jonah G., Julius H., and Gladys M.

3: A Committee of one School representative and one SCOPE representative to be in charge of all literature. Suggested: Arthur Z., and Barbara.

4: SCOPE Committee

5: Committee for Extension Courses

6: Advertising and Publicity Committee (Present Committee: Jonah G., Julius H., Sam D)

SCOPE:

Reported a deficit of \$40.00 on the 10/7/60 affair (but stated that the affair resulted in approximately six registrations. It was agreed that the school would make up the balance of \$33.00 needed to pay for the room used by SCOPE (total cost of room - \$55.00).

It was stated emphatically that all SCOPE money, including registrations must be turned into school office at once.

GENERAL:

(EG): Suggested that Eric B and Dick Pastor be approached to work closely with school since it is imperative to involve 5 to 8 additional people to work actively.

It was agreed that Students! Admisssion Cards would earn discounts towards spring, 1961 tuition; and towards admissions to special affairs.

The next meeting was called for 10/26/60, at 6:00 P.M. A special room is to be rented for this purpose.

Meeting Adjourned.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782)

Date: 4/19/61

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**b**6 b7C

FROM:

SA WILLIAM G. CURRALL #41

SUBJECT:

NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR

MARXIST STUDIES

IS-C

On 3/24/61,  $\square$ , who was in a position to furnish reliable information, made available a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the New York School for Marxist Studies on October 3, 1960. This material is being maintained as New York Exhibit 100-142782-1B5 (2). Care should be taken in reporting this material to carefully paraphrase information so as not to disclose the source. The material included the following:

1-NY	100 <b>-</b> 8053 <u>2</u>	(HERBERT APTHEKER	(415)	
J-NA	100-90853 100-54089 100-13483			
1-NY	100-61647 100-15577			
1-NY 1-NY	100-26448 100-80334 100-142290			
1-NY 1-NY 1-NY	100-136814 100-81450		ledged \$100.00	
	•	for the New York Studies) (412)		rxist
I-NY	100-134920 100-133195 100-142782	(SCOPE) (414) (411)		1=
titaa . A	300	•	/	CEADONED

WGC:das (15)

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-0532-3/72 SEARCHED ....INDEXED ....

.rk 1 ୬/ 1961 FBI -- NEW YORK

MEETING:

10/3/60

PRESENT:

HA-CHAIRMAN BG SD MYRON JG HK AZ GM

JН

SF JH

AGENDA:

Development of General Business as reported in the

Minutes of 9/26th.

Conferences under the auspices of the school. Discussion re a monthly meeting for members of

SCOPE and school faculty.

The Minutes of the 9/26th meeting were read and the following actions were taken in conjunction with such reading:

AGREED that the outlines to be prepared for each course must be ready for distribution no later than Friday, 10/14th, instead of the 10/17th date originally agreed upon.

RE FINANCES: It was reported that an account has been opened; current balance, \$477. Checkbook, bills, etc., will be delivered to the school office on Tuesday, 10/4, by HA, at which time an appointment is to be arranged between JG and GM for the purpose of setting up a permanent office record.

REPORTED that the Isserman pledge of \$100.00 has been received and is included in the current balance.

RE JIM (NJ) pledge of \$100: DECIDED that NYSMS and SCOPE catalogs are to be mailed to Jim, together with transmittal letter, to be followed by a personal call, since this pledge was to be honored through money earned at a party or some other affair.

SAM D. reported that one affair is now in the making and that he will discuss a second affair in an effort to make definite arrangements.

The proposed 10/15th affair was discussed in detail. The consensus of opinion was that this date did not allow sufficient time for proper publicity, etc. A motion was made that the

affair be postponed to 11/14th, four weeks after school opening, and that the catalogs for the 1961 courses be ready and made available on that date. The question was put and the 11/14th date accepted. A committee of three was appointed to handle all details; Arthur Z, Sam D, and one member of SCOPE.

RE PROPOSED CUEA TRIP: JH stated that in his opinion the school is not equipped to handle such a project; there was a general agreement with this. However, it was decided that additional information be obtained with regard to rates, costs, etc., and that we ascertain also whether there was my possibility of the school actually bringing a small group into one of the tours now being planned by the Guardian and Advance.

RE CATALOGS: HA will deliver Political Affairs list to office for the purpose of checking against list now being used.

BG, SAM D., JH, AZ, and HK volunteered to help with mailing during the week.

It was agreed that each catalog be rubber-stamped with the legend "REGISTRATION BEGINS ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7th.....)

Sam D. reported that the registration cards should be completed and delivered on Wed. 10/5th.

RE ADVERTISING: JH reported that ads had been placed in the Worker and the Guardian.

The following rates on advertising were submitted:

NY TIMES, \$34.30 for 1"; placement for pages 6 to 13, first section.

LA FRENSA \$3.00 per inch. El Diario \$8.40 per inch Amsterdam News \$7.28 min; (2") Village Voice \$4.90 per inch

Freiheit \$3.50 per inch Guardian \$6.30 per inch

NY/100-142782

AGREED that all ads be planned to encompass the specifics set forth by HA on 9/26th, i.e., courses on Cuba and Africa to be advertised in the Spanish press. Courses in Africa and the Civil War Centennial to be advertised in the Amsterdam News. Village Voice would reflect the HA courses, SF courses, and (as ægreed at this meeting) the JL course.

AGREED that JG would select courses to be included in the Freiheit ad.

Advertising Committee appointed - JG, SAM D., and GM. The committee is to plan all ads and final copy is to be given to JH who will place ads personally. All ads are to be ready by Friday, 10/7th.

#### RE SCOPE ADVERTISING:

AGREED that SCOPE ads would be placed in 6 College Papers; CCNY, HUNTER, BROOKLYN COLLEGE, QUEENS, COLUMBIA, at a total cost of approximately \$128. An additional \$60.00 was voted to SCOPE to cover mailing and printing expenses, \$30.00 of which has already been paid. \$130. (\$100. from JH: \$30.00 from JH) was given to Judy to cover advertising cost.

It was suggested that we check UKRAINIAN DAILY NEWS for ad rates for consideration of an ad combining SCOPE and NYSMS.

AGREED that an invoice or a voucher must be submitted to cover every expenditure made.

RE LECTURE ROOMS: JH will try to arrange for rooms on the 18th floor for the following classes:

SCOPE: Oct. 14, 21, 28; Nov. 4, 11, 18 NYSMS: Oct. 17, 24, 31; Nov. 7, 14, 21

RE STATIONERY: Approved as originally suggested. Copy given to JH for handling and ordering.

AGREED that office will be open on Sat., 10/8th and Sat., 10/15th, for registration. JH will cover office on 10/8th and BG on 10/15th

GENERAL DISCUSSION: SCOPE asked that JG attend SCOPE meetings as liaison between SCOPE and NYSMS.

Possibility of a Teen-age course was discussed. It was suggested that AZ teach #1 Teen age Course. This will be discussed further at SCOPE. Sam D will report on Teen Age interest at next meeting.

It was suggested that consideration be given to the possibility of having a member of the African delegation invited to speak at the School.

TO BE INCLUDED ON THE AGENCA FOR 10/10th:

FORUM ONLITERATURE AND THE ARTS CENSHORSHIP IS CO-EXISTENCE POSSIBLE?

MONTHLY MEETING BETWEEN SCOPE AND NYSMS

Meeting Adjourned

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782)

Date: 4/19/61

FROM:

WILLIAM G. CURRALL #41

SUBJECT:

NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR

MAPXIST STUDIES

IS-C

who was in a position to on 3/24/61furnish reliable information, made available a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the New York School for Marxist Studies on September 26, 1960. This material is being maintained as New York Exhibit 100-142782-1B5 (2). Care should be taken in reporting this material to carefully paraphrase information so as not to disclose the source. The material included the following:

"MEETING:

SEPTEMBER 26, 1960

NYSMS.

PRESENT:

Dr. H. Aptheker, Chairman S. J. Gluck

B. Gannett

J. Heiman J. Lane G. Murray b7D

H. Klein

Z. Zipser

S. Finkelstein

J. Rosenbaum

NY 100-805<u>32 (HERBERT APTHEKER) (415)</u> I-NY 100-343 **b6** 1-NY 100-90853 1-NY 100-54089 0-80532 1-NY 100-13483 1-NY 100-61647 ARCHED ..... 1-NY 100-15577 RIALIZED 1-NY 100-26448 収19**19**61 1-NY 100-80334 1-NY 100~148290 1-NY 100-136814 1-NY 100-81450 JIM (N.J.) who pledged 1-NY 100-\$100.00 to the New York School for Marxist Studies) (412) 1-NY 100-134920 (SCOPE) (414) 1-NY 100-142782 (41)

WGC:das (15)

with

AGENDA:

1. Outlines of Courses.

2. Finances

3. Catalogs, Advertising and publicity

4. Secretary

a. publicity and advertising

5. SCOPE

6. Special Functions

#### RESOLVED:

An outline for each course, together with a hrief 1. reading list, must be prepared by each teacher and submitted for editing to HA no later than October 10th, A.M. Mimeographs (50 copies each) are to be ready for distribution to students by school opening, Monday, 10/17/60.

A verbal report of finances was given by SJG. 2. is on hand the sum of \$310.00 which includes the balance of funds in the old school account and the \$200.00, (paid by JH toward the original pledge of \$1,000.) A new account is to be opened on Tuesday, September 27th.

> \$650.00, balance; (JH) Outstanding pledges: \$100.00, Is man \$100.00, Jim (N.J.)

A total of \$225.00 has been Accts. Payable: paid out. All bills have been paid to date.

A written report, together with copies of bills, etc., will be submitted by SJG to the school office as a matter of record.

At this point, there was general discussion about 6. fund-raising and special events to be planned for this purpose. It was agreed that -

- (a) an: immediate effort be made to collect the two \$100.00 listed above and in so doing, and in each instance, the possibility of a special fund-raising affair be discussed;
- (b) JH and SJG will provide lists for telephone follow-up donations;
- (c) there be further discussion with Sam D. about the several affairs on which he was working.

SF suggested that we plan a special affair at which the guest speakers would be those teachers whose books have been published during the past year. There was unanimous agreement that this would be an excellent way to launch the new school. A tentative date of Saturday, Oct. 15th, was set for this "Meet the Faculty" event; admission was set at \$1.00, and it was agreed that this payment could be applied toward registration for any course. HA will discuss the event with SCOPE and there will be further discussion at the next meeting on 10/3/60.

With regard to the "Meet the Faculty" event, it was agreed that as soon as the date and the idea are approved, the following procedures be set in motion:

Plan an advertisement for the Guardian. Arrange for an announcement of the 10/15 affair to be made at the SCOPE party on 10/7. The affair is to be mentioned in the letter of transmittal accompanying catalogs, and to all telephone contacts.

Other suggestions for future affairs to be considered included a lecture, (with an appeal for funds) and the possibility of arranging a trip to Cuba during the Christmas holidays.

3.

HK reported: Catalogs are being printed by Prompt Press. Proofs will be submitted to HA by Wednesday, 9/28 and completed catalogs will be delivered to office on Friday, 9/30. First order-3500; to be re-ordered if necessary.

Distribution: through personal contact, as per list below (includes distribution through public places, such as bookstores, etc.);

through mail; approximately 1200 will be distributed to the list now in our possession.

HA will prepare a letter of transmittal to accompany catalogs. (Since it was suggested that this letter contain mention of the 10/15 event, this mailing would be prepared for Thesday, 10/4, pending the definite approval of the affair at our regular meeting on 10/3.)

Additional distribution of the catalog would be made at affairs listed in the press during the next three week-ends.

A general discussion on advertising followed the suggestion made here by JH that an ad be placed in the N.Y.Times. A summation of the discussion, as dictated by HA, is set forth below:

If budget permits, we will place an ad, as suggested by JH in one issue of the daily edition of the N.Y.Times; one in whatever paper SJG selects; in Spanish papers for the courses on Cuba and Africa; in the Amsterdam

4.

News for the courses on the Civil War Centennial and Africa; in the Village Voice for SF's and HA's courses; and in the College papers in cooperation with SCOPE as per their suggestions.

At JH's suggestion, a committee of three (JH, SJG, and GM) was named to handle the collation of all pertinent material pertaining to the projected advertising program. (Rates for advertising in BOHEMIA are to be included for consideration also.)

In the discussion on publicity that followed, HK stated that he would collate and index complete lists of all college papers, foreign papers, and regular press; such master list to be used for all publicity releases.

A press release regarding the launching of the school is to be prepared at once by HA. BG is to receive copies as quickly as possible.

The following masthead to be used on stationery was approved by the board, subject to approval or change by SCOPE:

THE NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES

School of General Studies \*\*\*\* Students: Committee
... on Progressive
Education (SCOPE)

The Secretary's office hours were established; Monday through Friday, from 4:00-8:00 P.M. with the understanding that the office would remain covered and open until 8:30, should it be necessary.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION:

During the open discussion that took place before and during the meeting, BG stated that she would obtain specific information re instructors, etc., pertaining to the course on Cuba. BG or JR would meet with JH this week to secure rooms for classes.

JH stressed the absolute necessity of having at least one SCOPE member present, (and on time, if possible) at each and every meeting.

HA suggested that one member of our board cover SCOPE meetings, whereever possible.

Matters to be placed on the Agenda for 10/3:

"Meet the Faculty" affair, 10/15th
Review of advertising program; report on rates to be submitted.
Conferences under the auspices of the school
Discussion on the possibility of setting up a monthly meeting of members of SCOPE and school faculty.

Meeting adjourned.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-55455) DATE: 4/7/61

FROM : SA LOUIS K. DE GEUS

SUBJECT: MORANDA SMITH SECTION

SCDCP IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION	
who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity should be concealed.	Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP	2/21/61	Writer		ь3 ъ7п
100-4959 100-22689 100-30537 100-44299 100-52571 100-26103		t is set out a	ICAGO (RE		ь3 ь6 ь7с ь7D
100-24345 (NE 100-26044 (OF ) - NEW YORK	CUCATION) EGRO QUESTION) EGANIZATION) (REGISTERED) (LOUIS WEINS Read by & KA	TOCK) (BEN D. HERBEI	AVIS) RT_APTHEK WINSTON)	32 -3174 	ъ6 ъ7с

### LA 100-55455

the Moranda Smith Section, C.P. of the Southern California District, C.P. held a meeting	ъ7D
on at 8: P.M. at the home of	
"There were 4 persons present, namely:	
	b7D
,	_
"The meeting was conducted by	<b>Ь</b> 7D
"The first point on the agenda was a report on educational work & classes for the Moranda Smith Section,	
C.P. This report was by	_ ا
limba discouration amound the monomit on the	167D
"The discussion around the report on the was very weak. This report was given by	
National Committee member, C.P. The	
report was done at the last enlarged Section committee meeting held on	
gold that the C.D. Club members	b7D
said that the C.P. Club members present at the enlarge Section Board meeting were very slow in speaking or making any comments on the document by	-
the This seems to be because the most of the Club members either have not read the document or they were	
reluctant or afraid to speak up. The document is repetitious in many ways & a bit confusing. This may account for the comrades reluctance in participating in the discussion.	
COUNT COCCE TO TWO OFFICE THE BUT OFFICE AND	

LA 100-55455

made to the be co mith Section begin to prepare lasses in the Section, her pro	
"The second point on from the National C	the agenda was a report .P. school on Marxism.
his National C.P. school & tha	the highlights of the school,
"HYMAN LUMER WIL WIENSTOCK PHIL BART BETTY GANNETT JACK STACHEL WILLIAM PATTERSON	The first Lecturer  ""  a teacher  Substituted for BEN DAVIS on lecturing on the Negro Qeustion. BEN DAVIS could not do so because of other commitments.
"HERBERT APTHEKER was t the C.P. National School. H	also scheduled as lecturer e also could not get there.
ood & enthusiastically filled.	the classes were very
٠٠٢	enort prepared in writing
encor in terms of the same	at the National C.P.

LA 100-55455 b7D proposal on report was adopted. "The 3rd point on the agenda was a discussion on Negro History week & the centennial year. b7D made the following proposals for the celebration of Negro History Week. "That a leaflet be put out by the Moranda Smith Section & the Southern Calif. District C.P. explaining the centennial from the C.P. views in relation to Negro History. "That a semi-brochure on 'Negro History Week' be gotten out by the Moranda Smith Section & that the centennial be tied in on Negro History. "The 4th point on the agenda was a discussion on the public distribution of the pamphlets on b7D b7D hade a proposal that the question pamphlets be discussed at the next of the enlarged Section Committee meeting, Monday SO that the report can be taken back to the C.P. Clubs to discuss the clubs quotas on the distribution of the pamphlets, which are 10¢ per copy. Also that the Moranda Smith Section get 1000 of the pamphlets to be distributed though the C.P. clubs in the Section. "A district wide committee is being set up for the distribution of these pamphlets to the public. "The hext point on the agenda was a discussion on the C.P. Clubs in the Section, particularly b7D than any other CLUD in the Moranda Smith Section.

LA 100-55455

"A motion was made & adopted that a staff meeting of the Section be held on Monday, at	ъ7D
that club the larger clubs in the Section	
"The last point was on the	
made a proposal that the  Moranda Smith Section. C.P. urge the District to try to get	b7D
will draw a much	
targer crowd than proposal was discussed & adopted."	
ACTION:	<b>Ь</b> 7D
Informant orally advised the writer on 2/21/61 that had appeared at the above reported meeting after it started, the National C.P. School on Marxism, which Informant advised that informant had inadvertently failed to include the name of with the names of the others named in informant's report as having been present at the above described meeting.	

LA 100-55455 Channelizing of the above information was delayed due to numerous Bureau deadline cases, including expedite applicant cases being handled by the writer and also due to illness on the part of the writer. Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning this report and could furnish no additional information. All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

# OPTIONAL FURM, NO. 10 UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

то	: Director, FBI	( 100-123974	) date:	4/11/61	
FROM	: Legal Attache, Bo	nn ( 100-927	)		
SUBJECT	IS ~ C ISA of 1950 (00: NEW YORK)	niéker m letter 1/24/6	1,	eech	
de; fm	Enclosed is (% mmunication(s) dated scribed individuals om confidential ceived by the Legal	or organizations	. This m	ic copy(Tes) of between the fol aterial was extra	cted tion
in	e nature of this		h it shou	ld be protected.	
a.g.	encies.				]
3.3	HXXXX				;
	- Bureau		, , ,	100-10-	-3178
2- (7	- Bonn (l: 100-927 l: 100-553) 7) HDG:tlc		١٠	41	<i>7</i>
``\ `\	•	1		12-1	

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-123974) Re: Bonn 100-927	4/11/61			
	ь3			
retrect the following:	Bonn files			

## Office Memorandum • United States Government

TO

SAC, (100-1502-1955)

DATE:

4/17/61

FROM:

SA FORREST F. BURGESS

SUBJECT:

UNITY CLUB, CPEPD;

IS - C

1 - New York (RM) (1 - 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER)

2 - Los Angeles (RM)

1 - 100-(AVÁ HELEN PAULING)

1 - 100-(LINUS PAULING)

29 - Philadelphia

1 - 100-1502-1955)

28 - Other Philadelphia Files

FFB: fkd (32)

PH 100-1502-1955

on 4/3/61, who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA BURGESS of the following. This information was dictated on 4/5/61 into statement form, typed by Stenographer FRANCES K. DAGNEY on 4/6/61 and was then read and initialed by the informant on 4/12/61. This statement is maintained in	b3 b7I
"Philadelphia, Pennsylvania "April 3, 1961	
"A meeting of the Unity Club was held on at the home of Those present were:	b7 <u>r</u>
and was unable to be present.  spoke about a forthcoming CP Legislative Conference.  leadership of the CPEPD would have to plan for this affair and set a time and place for same.	b7 <u>r</u>
read a petition captioned which was addressed to the United Nations and which was issued by	b7 <u>r</u>
asked how many people in the club would take these petitions and attempt to have people sign the same.  took five copies,  took five copies,  took five copies.	b7E

- 2 -

PH 100-1502-1955

spoke about an conference which was scheduled to take place in , in the latter part of suggested that all members of the Unity Club write to their union representatives and attempt to get them to send as many delegates from each union as possible to this conference.	ь71
gave a report on a recent organizational meeting, at which the secretaries of the various CP Clubs of the CPEPD, were present and which meeting was held at the residence of said the district leadership of the CPEPD would select the people to attend a conference which is to be held in on	b71
who has problems because of these suggested that all these people be contacted and be informed of the time of the next meeting of the Unity Club.	ъ71
who should be considered for membership in the Unity Club; however, there is some doubt that he would actually join the club.  also said that a club should be formed for people and the expected membership in that club would be	b71
"With regards to subscriptions to 'The Worker' said the Unity Club owed approximately for papers it had received in the past. He wondered how this amount of money might be paid. suggested that the Executive Committee of the Unity	b7I

- 3 -

PH 100-1502-1955

	"Club consider taking this money out of the treasury.  suggested that if this was done it  should be replaced at a later date.	b7D
/	"None of the members of the Unity Club made any payment on, for the sustaining fund of the CPEPD.	
<b>\</b>	a communication from HERBERT APTHEKER asking to be released from his speaking engagement for the Philadelphia Social Science Forum Committee meeting scheduled for April 21, 1961.  said, therefore, there would be no speaker for this meeting but the emphasis of the meeting would be placed on May Day.	<b>b</b> 7D
	"The names of mentioned as people who might lead the educational discussion at the next meeting of the Unity Club.  said she could not do so because she might not be able to attend the next meeting.  mentioned that was supposed to lead this discussion at the next meeting.  said he had heard that was going to however, said that had said recently held at Philadelphia that she was going to It was decided to have the above-mentioned educational discussion for the next meeting led by said he would help her. All comrades were asked to	ъ7D
	participate in this discussion.  "The next meeting of the Unity Club is scheduled	
	to be held at the home of at	<b>b7</b> D

-- 4 --

SA FORREST F. BURGESS

CPUSA - ORGANIZATION; IS - C

on 3/31/61, who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA FORMEST F. BURGESS of the following. This information was distated on 4/5/61 into statement form, typed by Stenographer FRANCES K. DAGNEY on 4/6/61, and was then read and initialed by the informant on 4/12/61. It is maintained in

2 - New York (RM) 1 - 100-1 - 100-80532 (HERNERT APTHEKER)

14- Philadelphia 1 - 100-31723 13- Other Appropriate Files

13- Ofter Abbrehitate 17

FFB: BSP (16)

b3 b7D

## "Philadelphia, Pennsylvania March 31, 1961

b7D

ъ7D

b7D

ь7D

"An organization meeting of the CPEPD, which was attended by the secretaries of various CP Clubs within the CPEPD, was held or at the home of
Those present were
to sit in on this meeting.
"The program of action discussed at this meeting was as follows:
"With regard to stated the members of
the other existing
clubs in the CPEPD and given responsibilities to see what they can do. these members are paid up to date and contributions should be sought from them for the sustaining fund of the CPEPD.
"With regard to  each member of each club should be responsible in one way or another to influence more people to read it and obtain subscriptions to it. He felt organizations should be effected in each club for this purpose and this matter should be fully discussed with each club member, at which time they should be told how to build the paper. He suggested that mobilization be arranged for going out to sell  We indicated two methods to be used for doing this, namely  which those attending go out and sell and report back concerning their results.  In a similar manner felt that could

## PH 100-31723

	"he hald for those working on behalf of after which they would go out and sell issues of this publication and report back concerning their results.	b7I
	also indicated should be raised within the CPEPD by for the CP. He stated two large affairs should be held each year for the purpose of raising large amounts of money. He also felt that several small affairs should be held each year to raise small amounts of money.	b7I
/	spoke of having as a benefit affair for raising money, at which time contributions would be solicited.	b7I
	also spoke about the Philadelphia Social Science Forum Committee affair which was scheduled to be held on April 21, 1961, at the Adelphia Hotel with HERBERT APTHEKER as a speaker. He stated all club members should be impressed with the need for getting people to attend this affair.	<b>b</b> 7I
	said a  meeting would be held on  He suggested all who were interested  in going to same should get in touch with  He indicated those who attend the same  would be  and one other person."	ъ71
REM	MARKS:	
	An airtel was sent by the Philadelphia Office to  Bureau and New York on March 31, 1961, indicating a meeting would be held in	ь71



Date received	Received from (name or symbol number) Received	eived by
a day de m		DENJAMIN P. MC MANUS and b7
3/14/61	(conceal by request)	PAUL J. ITHEAUN
Method of delivery (a	check appropriate blocks)	
in person	by telephone by mail orally recor	ding device written by Informant
If orally furnished an	d reduced to writing by Agent:	Date of Report
	Date	
Dictated	, to	Date(s) of activity
	PAUL J. HEUMAHN on 3/20/61	Date(s) of decivity
Transcribed	THUE AS INDIVIDUE OF 2/50/OF	
Authenticated by Informant		
Brief description of a	ctivity or material	
Correspicate of	logations concerning JOHN CANSTER.	
NOTHER O ST	TOWARTONS CONCOLUNTY, SOME OWNTER	1
ichdent aptil	DKUR and John Russell	File where original is located if not attached
		b3
		_ b7
Remarks:		
		the
source mo r	urnished the information in the at	=
requested th	at his identity be concealed. He c	an be characterized
	mitted former CP member from appre	
contact with	whom has been insufficient to jud	ige rollability.
ය අරැව	xact location where was in	terviewed was not b7
	copies of the PD 302 inagmuch as	
	sourco's residence.	
	. It was felt that dis	
information	would tend to jeopardice	identity.
		_

1 - 11Y 100-144393
1 - 11Y 100-30532 | HERREST APTHEMENT | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 1

Date 1 arch 20, 1961

How York T- advised as follows:

Among the associates of JOHI CAR ART, an adultted Communist Party (CP) member, whom he (source) considers to be a Communist is NOTERT ARTHUMEN. He (source) stated he could furnish no specific information to support his opinion.

by and PAUL J. 1961 How York, New York File #100-80532

Date dictated (Freeh 20, 1961

# UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

TO

SAC, CHICAGO

DATE: 4/20/61

FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-89571)

SUBJECT:

(28)

MAINSTREAM

IS - C

ReBulet, 12/12/56, captioned "CP, USA, PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS; IS - C", which advised that a review of each issue of "Mainstream" should be made with a view to effecting probable identification of authors, and in the event that probable identification is not made, instructing that a case be opened in an attempt to determine if the individual author should be included on the SI.

Chicago (1 - GITA ISAAC) 2 - Kansas City (1 - DONALD CLARK HODGES) NAN APOTHEKER) (412) Ъ6 . New York (100-HERBERT APTHEKER ъ7С 100-80532) New York 100-99762 New York 100-91308) - New York ERNEST CHRICHLOW - New York 100-422 E. B. DU BOIS 100-20789) - New York - New York 100-143563 - New York 100-87338) 412 WILLIAM FAY 1 - New York 100-100-141941 - New York (100-9645) 1 - New York JOHN HADLEY) 1 - New York (100 -100-61222) - New York 100-8033} 1 - New York 1 - New York 100-96066) 100-105078) - New York (100-80294) - New York [100-107686] - New York 80532 (100-86760) - New York (100-143326) - New York STANLEY SILVERSWEIG ) SECHLE - New York 100-(424 (100-81886) - New York (100-97567) l - New York 1 - New York (100-89571) (MAINSTREAM) PHS:kpm

Copies of this memorandum are being designated for the NY files of the probable authors who have written articles, letters and/or book reviews appearing in the February, 1961 and March, 1961 issues of "Mainstream". In the event the probable author is determined to be residing other than in the NYC area, the office covering such residence is to be notified and a case file opened to determine if the probable author is to be included on the SI. In the event the probable author is determined, a copy of the communication reflecting such determination is to be designated for NY file 100-132490 (CP, USA, Cultural Region; IS-C).

Characterization of "Mainstream" appears on page 104, with footnote, of the House "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications (and Appendix)" dated 1/2/57.

The following individuals have contributed to the February, 1961 issue of "Mainstream":

Author CHARLES WHITE PHILIP EVERGOOD Staff

HERBERT APTHEKER WILLIAM FAY DAVID EVANIER

REV. WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH

ANTON REFRECTER

Work A drawing, front cover A painting, inside cover A lengthy article of current editorial comment, pg. 3 Article, pg. 9 Sketch, pg. 25 Poem. pg. 29; described as a year old college student". Article, pg. 32; described as "NY representative of the Southern Conference Educational Fund". Sketch, pg. 43; described as "world famous artist .... active in the international peace movement".

ь6 ь7с

Author W. E. B. DU BOIS

ROBERT FORREY
MAURICE BECKER
ELIZABETH LAWSON
ALAN BUSH

R. F. SHAW ERNEST CRICHLOW ALICE NEEL Work
Sketch, pg. 44; described as
"... devoted to peace,
understanding and democracy".
Article, pg. 52
Letter to the Editor, pg. 58
Book Review, pg. 59
Book Review, pg. 60; described
as "...English composer..."
Book Review, pg. 64
Sketch, back cover
Drawing of W. E. B. DU BOIS,
pg. 44

The following individuals have contributed to the March, 1961 issue of "Mainstream":

Author HUGO GELLERT PABLO NERUDA

Staff

PATRICE LUMUMBA

LILLIAN LOWENFELS NAN APOTHEKER DONALD CLARK HODGES

HYMAN LUMER

Work
Drawing, front cover
Letter, inside cover;
described as a "Chilean poet".
A column of editorial comment,
pg. 3
Poem, pg. 9; described as
the deceased congolese leader.
Translator of LUMUMBA poem
Translator of LUMUMBA poem
Article, pg. 11; described
as "professor...University
of Missouri".
Article, pg. 15; described
as "National Education
Director of the CPUSA".

Author R. F. SHAW	Work Article, pg. 25; described as years old and a graduate student specializ-
	ing in modern European
NICOLAS GUILLEN	history". Article, pg. 36; described as "noted Cuban poet".
PABLO NERUDA	Article, pg. 38
JOHN W. STANFORD	Translator of NERUDA poem
PHILLIP BONOSKY	Story, pg. 43
JOHN HADLEY	Book Review, pg. 55
STANLEY SILVERSWEIG	Book Review, pg. 58
JACK COHEN	Book Review, pg. 60;
	described as "an Englishman".
GITA ISAAC	Book Review, pg. 64;
	described as a "poet from
	Chicago".
A. YACOBSON	Color Lithograph, back cover;
	described with "USSR".

b6 b7С

Copies of this memorandum are not being designated for the following individuals: ALAN BUSH, PABLO NERUDA, PATRICE LUMUMBA, NICOLAS GUILLEN, JACK COHEN, and A. YACOBSON.

4/20/61

### PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO

DEFECTOR, FRE (100-3-67)

FROM:

SAG, MENARK (100-42841)

SUBJECT:

CP, USA YOUTH ACTIVITIES

18 - C

Re Newark letter to Director 3/20/61.

by College,	Referenced letter set forth the information furnished soncerning the possibility that might make arrangements to speak at Monsouth Long Branch, N.J., sometime	<b>67</b> D
and dogma he has ag that if i opportuni community	on 1/6,12/61, SA RUSSELL M. HORNER discussed this matter with particular emphasis on the fact that the of the college is conservative in his political leaning tie in his decisions to the extent that on occasions itated the local community. The informant was informed to became known locally that the CP was to be given an ty to speak out publicly certain segments of the and possibly the college president might decide to make issue of the CP speakers visit.	<b>Ъ7</b> D
	stated	b7D
nimeegrap	ned experies from HERHERT AFTHERER pointing out that	
3-Bureau (1-100-	(MM) 3-104) (COUNTREINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) k (100-80532)	b3
[] {]~}[]#	42359) (COUNTERINGELLIGENCE PROGRAM)	b7D
RMR: mpm (7)	SEARCHED SERIALIZED THE SERIALIZED THE NEW YORK	<b>'</b> 5

NK 100-4284L

Γ	the CF chould be circumspect about some of the topics it discusses before college groups but at the same time should take every opportunity to appear before these colleges to tell the CPs story.    stated that inasmuch as the aforementioned situation exists at Monmouth College and since AFTHEKER is interested in appearing before colleges	ъ7
ł	APTHEKER	
L	this would be the safest solution to the situation that now exists.	
Г	letter from which letter suggested	ъ7:
L		
	Monmouth College. The informant stated that	
L	HERBERT APTHEKER concerning this speach and that	
	APTHEKE	
	This has been done.   stated	
	that he would keep the Newark Office advised of developments in this regard.	
	been made to date by the CP or anyone connected with Mormouth College. It is not believed that it is advisable to take any definite action to implement the Counterintelligence Program until becomes public knowledge at the College Eccuse to do so might compromise the informant.	ъ7.
	However, sources are available at Monmouth College who will keep this office advised of any CP activity at this school which comes to their attention.	

The Bureau will be advised of pertinent developments.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

SAC. ALBANY (100-11056)

CP, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS-C
OC: NEW YORK

Re New York letter dated 3/29/61 and Albany letter dated 4/6/61.

On 4/10/61 student at
Cornell University, and member of Watermargin Fraternity,
Ithaca, New York, contacted SA PETER F. MAXSON and furnished
the following information:

Each year, Watermargin sponsors at least one public lecture at Cornell, trying to obtain well known persons with varied backgrounds. This year after considerable discussion and a vote of the members, it was decided to try to obtain GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, as a speaker. Contact with CP Headquarters in New York City was made by one of the Watermargin members delegated for this purpose,

When it was escertained that HALL would not be available, HERBERT APTHEKER was suggested by the Party to act in his stead. As of the present time, arrangements are under way to have APTHEKER come to Cornell to make this speech.

Bureau and New York will be advised of any future developments.

CC: 2-Bureau (100-3-69) (RE) 2-New York (1-100-80641-08/ANIZATION) (RM) (1-100-84994-gus HALL) (RM)

1-New York (1-HERBERT AFTHEKER) (EM) 2-Albany (100-11056)

PFM:PAC (7) SEASCHAIN CO

Feed The

ь7D

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NY-122 (8-6-59) OFFICE MEMORANDUM

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO:	SAC (100-104142 Sub A 17)(41)	DATE:4/24/61
FROM:	SA ALBERT E. FALLER	
SUBJECT:	EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION" IS - C	
concerning in the bui	who has furnished reliant, made available to the New York Of the above captioned subject obtained lding located at 160 Fifth Avenue, Note the Emma Lazarus Federation of	fice information ed from Room 911 NC. which room
of this im to any out the nature	Strict care must be exercised so tha portant source of information will n side agency. It is also to be noted of this source of information it wiet the source regarding information	ot become known that because of 11 be impossible
Information	n received on 3/22/61	by
SAS ALBER	RT E, FALLER AND NICHOLAS J. PURCHIA	1
The follow	ing disposition is being made of the	original exhibit:
(X) Placed	din NY file # 100-104142 Sub A 17 Se	rial <u>54</u>
	Ex	hibit 53
( ) Forwa	rded for your information and approp	riate action.
( ) No cop the N	py of the exhibit or this letter is	being retained by
Description Cold War" h by Nostrand	n of exhibit: Announcement of Yectur by Herbert Aptheker on 3/16/61 at Apo I ELC,	ex Clubhouse sponsored
1-New Yor		15 0 - 80532-3/8 SEARCHED HIED SERIALIZED
AEF:paf (2)		APR 24 1961 FBI—NEW YORK

OPTIONAL FORM NO 10 UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

#### MEMORANDUM

TO:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-142782)

Date: 4/21/6/

FROM:

(32) אידוען

SA WILLIAM G. CURRALL (41)

SUBJECT: NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES

(100-134920) (414)New York (SCOPE) (100-80532) - New York (100-144290 - New York New York (100-143980) - New York (100-142169 New York (100-141915 (100-139941 (100-143649 New York b3 New York **b6** b7C New York (100-136728 b7D - New York (100-136481 New York 100~135 (<u>100–136566</u> (100–143799 New New York York 188-14857 New New York York New York (100-135557 (100-141914 - New York New York (100-140591 (100-141289 (100-(100-New New BAUCH) York New 10-80532-3188 New York ĪŎŎ-HEISLER) (100**-**(100 (412) N) (412) New York (BILL HODES) SEARCHED New York (BOBBI LONDON) SERIALIZED New New (100-(100-MONA STERN (412) JOSE RAMOS (412) BILL THOMPSON (412) APR 2 4 1961 (100-New York FBI - NEW YORK New York 1 (100-142782)(41)New York WGC:mcc

On 3/24/61, who was in a position to furnish reliable information made available material which emanated from the office of the New York School for Marxist Studies. Included among this material was a sheet captioned "History of the Negro People's Struggle in the United States" by Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER. Beneath the cation was "Fridays, 7:00 - 8:30 p.m. Set forth below is a list of names some few of which are illegible. The list appears to be the class roster and includes columns captioned 10/14, 10/21, 10/28, 11/4, 11/11 and 11/18. The list of names is as follows excluding those which are illegible.

ALLAN BORDOFSKY PETER CUMMINGS BARBARA EASTON ELSA ECKSTAT AL ESSNER ELISSA FEIRTAG CAROL GOODSTEIN DANNY JACOBS BILLY LEVY JUDY MENDEL ALKA MOY CAROLE NETTE MIKE PLOTKIN R. SOSIS LORIE TAYLOR FLO SCHREIBSTEIN BILL TURNER MICHAEL ZAGARELL BERT WEINSTEIN JOAN WEINSTEIN LINDA ADELWITZ PHYLLIS BAUCH LILLIE HEISLER BILL HODES BOBBI LONDON MONA STERN JOSE RAMOS BILL THOMPSON O. WEXLER

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~ ~ E

The above items are maintained as New York exhibit 100-142782 1B5 (2), page 45.

It is noted that the catalog of the New York School for Marxist Studies for the fall term 1960, reflects that one of the SCOPE classes to be held starting Friday 10/14/60 and concluding 11/25/60 was entitled "History of the Negro People's Struggle in the United States" by Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER.

SA WILLIAM E. HUGHES

CPUSA - EDUCATION IS - C

who has furnished reliable On 3/21/61, information in the past, advised SE RAYMOND J. BOTT that FRANCES GABOW visited THOMAS NABRIED at the apartment of THOMAS NABRIED and ELEANOR WILLIAMS while WILLIAMS was at work about 9:45 a.m., 3/21/61. GABOW read excerpts from a letter that JAMES DOLSEN had received from HERBERT APTHEKER regarding APTHEKER coming to Philadelphia to speak at a forum (of the Philadelphia Social Science Forum Committee). GABOW said APTHEKER indicated he wanted two-weeks notice . and a fee of \$35 to appear. GABOW said such a fee was out of the question. She then commented that SARGE (HIRAM DAVIS) was supposed to be notified by GABOW or NABRIED concerning the day on which "that delegation" would be active. NABRIED said it would be Thursday (no date given). GABOW corrected NABRIED by stating they were supposed to get in touch with SABGE regarding the delegation but the meeting was being held on Thursday.

JAMES DOLSEN also visited the NABRIED residence about 9:55 a.m. DOLSEN commented that another person had promised to come but DOLSEN did not know whether this man would show up because he was new.

GABOW then criticized DOISEN severely for inquiring of APTHEKER concerning his fee. She stated "When the Party is

1000	ing i	tne	DILL	T MOUTO	nave no	duarus	about	SERTIFE	crieii e	5
	New Y			-80532)(	HERBERT	apthek	er)(re	GISTERED	MAIL)	ъз
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(8)	THYD			-		h. <		05:160		<b>₩</b> /

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PH 100-32067

"make a contribution. He is on our pay roll and we're helping to support him." (Apparently referring to HERBERT APTHEKER). DOLSEN argued with GABOW that she now had all the correspondence because she was supposed to handle the matter in the first place and he had only done what he had done in order to help her out. He said FRANCES was the one who had originally engaged APTHEKER to speak. GABOW refused to accept responsibility for this, stating she had never written anyone concerning the forums. She had merely spoken, concerning this matter, to ELIZABETH (GURLEY FLYNN) and had later spoken to ELIZABETH at a National Committee meeting. GABOW said she had lunch with APTHEKER but this was long after DOLSEN had written to APTHEKER about coming to Philadelphia to speak. DOLSEN then said he would write to APTHEKER and say "we" could not afford his fee.

4/25/63

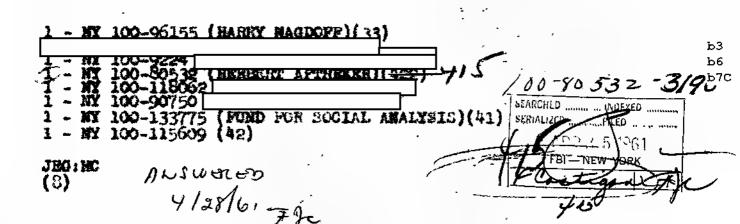
SAC, NEW YORK (100-115609)(42)

SUP. CYRLL J. RYAN

HCUA BEARINGS ON 4/26 & 28/61

By Busirtel dated 4/20/61, the NYO was advised that the individuals listed below were expected to be called before the HCVA on 4/26 & 28/61 in connection with a hearing on the "FUND FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS". The Bureau asked that the offices of origin for the subjects immediately review their files and make certain that the cases are in a current status and that the Bureau was in possession of all pertinent information concerning them. This should be handled on an expedite basis and the Eureau advised promptly.

General instructions relating to hearings of this type are as follows: Information concerning the individual subjects should be brought to the Bureau's attention under the individual case caption. Prospective witnesses should be considered for interview when their names are learned prior to the issuance or service of the subposees. Eureau authority must be obtained, however, prior to confusting such an interview. In each case in which an individual is to be subposed before the HCUA, it is necessary that the subject's case file be reviewed and the invostigation brought up-to-date. Where warranted, a report suitable for dissemination should be subsitted in each case. In the event a review of the file reflects a report is not warrented, Hew York must submit a letter under the individual case caption advising a report will not be submitted. In these letters, MY should state the date of the last report and include a statement that there is no current pertinent information. In some instances in the pest, MY has submitted letterhead memorands suitable for dissemination and suggested to the Bureau that these memorands be disseminated. together with copies of previous reports.





SAC. Ditroit (100-16890)

April 25, 1961

CA PERRY CHAY, JR.

CP, USA, DOUCATION IS - C

Due to the coasitive nature of this source, care should be utilized in discerinating this infortation.

who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 15, 1961, he had learned aron HELEN WINTER that HERBYET APPREKER plans to be in Detroit, Michigan, for a couple of days in November. HELEN said that APPRIEKER vanted to know if the Global Books Fords could use him and also if they could arrange a meeting for him on the Wayne campus. HELEN noted that APTHEKER's trip would be in connection with a tour of Canada and he wanted to gave on travel expenses.

There was no additional information regarding the above and it is being furnished for the information of the New York Office.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

No further action necessary.

l - New York (All) 1 - 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER)

1 - 100-21783 (GLOBAL POOKS)

1 - 100-13740 (HELEN WINTER)

1 - 100-16293 (HERBERT APTHEKER)

PS:sal **(5)** 

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED . SERIALIZED ..... FILED ..... APR 2019ET -PET- DETROIT

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4/26/61

ARTII.

TO:

DEPENTOR, UBA (100-427499)

FEM:

SAC, WEO (100-35029)

THE PURD FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS ISA OF 1950 IS - C

nominated 4/19/61, to Bureau ce 1170.

On 4/26/61, Hr. BONALD AVEIL, FUVA, newlood SA JOHET A. COMMINS, JE. that the honrings in instant matter have been past-pened until Hoy 22nd and 22rd, 1961. In addition to those withous mentioned in referenced airtel Hr. APPAL newised that the exhibited has also subposed meneral APPENUE, HYC, and BOMET G. COMMINE Professor, University of Pittsburgh, Pa.

UTO WILL SOLLOW.

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1-(10)-66573)	
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### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80532)

DATE:

4/27/61

FROM : SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY

SUBJECT: HERBERT APTHEKER

SM-C

Identity of Source

who has <del>rurnisned rel</del>iable

b3 b7D

Description of Info

Re HERBERT APTHEKER-4/14/61

info in past (conceal)

Date Received

4/17/61

Received By

SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY

written

Original Location

A copy of informant's written report follows.

1-NY 100-88013 1-NY 100-1-NY 100-80532 (415) ь3 b6 b7C

b7D

JTQ:ume (4)

00-80532-3193 A973 1 7 10

	4/16/61	
V	On 4/14/61, at	the
	propiretoiers handed a small envelope to	
	and asked him to deliver same to HERBERT APTHEK	ER.

b6 **№** b7С b7D

\_ 2 \_

SAC, Albany

Director. 781 (190-3-76)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA YOUTH MATTERS INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Rewrist 4-20-61 emptiemed "CP, USA, Organization, IS - C," copy furnished New York, disclosing that Rephert Apthebor, Communist Party, USA, National Committee member, may make a specih on the campus of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, at the invitation of the katermargin Fraternity.

Through established sources, you should attempt to obtain copies of articles and/or editorials printed in local and college newspapers concerning Aptheker's appearance at Corpell and furnish same to the Bureau. Remarks made by parsons in attendance concerning Aptheker's speech and its contents abould also be made available to the Europau. Comments as to the effectiveness of the speaker; his impression on the audience; and the reaction of the audience to the speaker should be included in your memorandum if these data are available. Fo investigation is to be made at the University but discreet inquiry through established sources may provide the information desired.

In the fature, the New York Office, where practical, should request the type of information described above of those offices wherein Party functionaries are scheduled to appear to give speeches on college campuses.

3 - New York (1) Herbert Apthoker) BYOTO ON 1/2/21

100-80532-3194

Hand gar